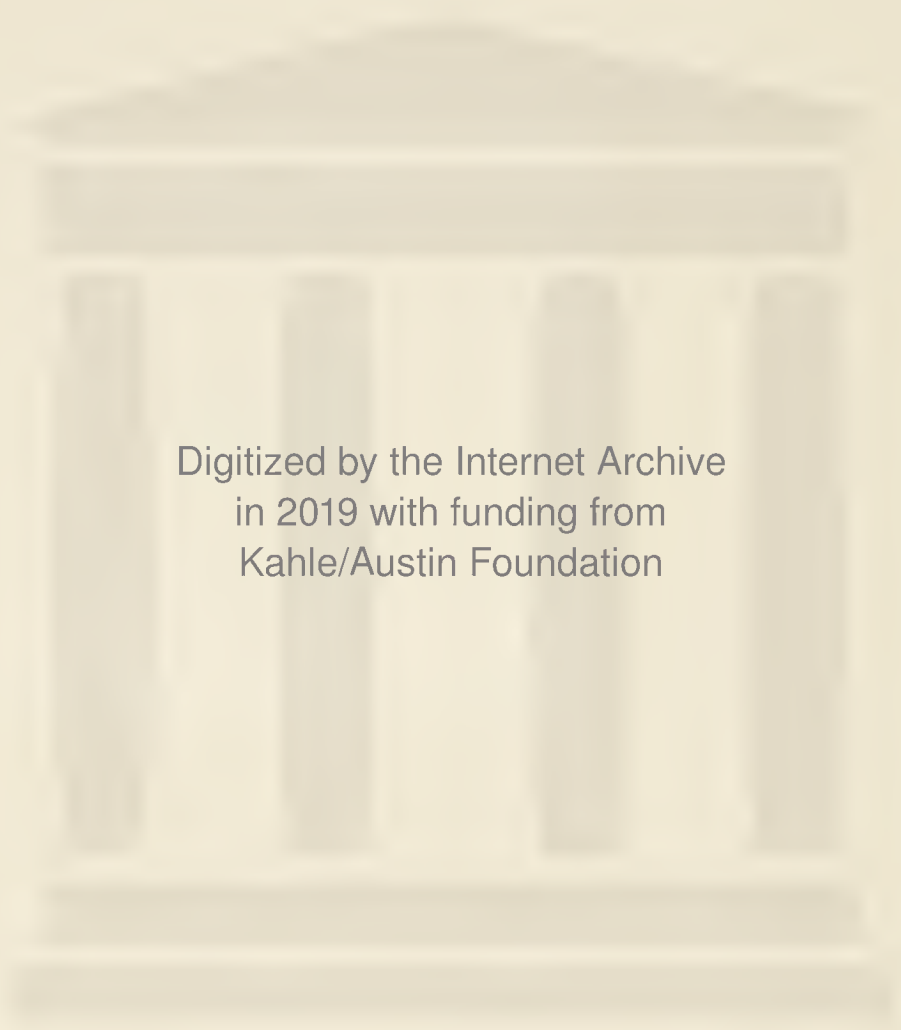


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COLLEGE AND STATE
VOLUME TWO



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Woodrow Wilson

WOODROW WILSON
President of the United States

The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson
Authorized Edition

COLLEGE AND STATE

*Educational, Literary and Political
Papers (1875-1913)*

BY

WOODROW WILSON

EDITED BY

RAY STANNARD BAKER AND WILLIAM E. DODD



IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
POLITICS. 1857-1907	I
From the <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> , November, 1907, Vol. 100, pp. 635-646.	
LAW OR PERSONAL POWER	24
Address delivered at the National Democratic Club, New York, April 13, 1908.	
From original typewritten manuscript with Mr. Wilson's corrections, in the Library of Princeton University.	
THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	32
From the <i>North American Review</i> , May, 1908, Vol. 187, pp. 684-701.	
THE BANKER AND THE NATION	54
Address delivered at the annual convention of the American Bankers' Association at Denver, Colorado, September 30, 1908. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix, pp. 502-503.	
ROBERT E. LEE: AN INTERPRETATION	64
Delivered on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert E. Lee, at the University of North Carolina, January 19, 1909, and now reprinted from the <i>Journal of Social Forces</i> , Vol. 2, pp. 321-328.	
ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A MAN OF THE PEOPLE	83
Address on the occasion of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Chicago, February 12, 1909. Taken from <i>Abraham Lincoln, the Tribute of a Century</i> , pp. 14-30.	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE SPIRIT OF LEARNING	102
Oration delivered before Phi Beta Kappa Chapter at Cambridge, Mass., July 1, 1909. From the <i>Harvard Graduates' Magazine</i> , September, 1909, Vol. 18, pp. 1-14.	
THE TARIFF MAKE-BELIEVE	120
From the <i>North American Review</i> , October, 1909, Vol. 190, pp. 535-556.	
THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY	147
From Mr. Wilson's original typewritten manuscript with his pen-and-ink corrections, dated "Princeton University, 6 July 1909," and signed with his auto- graph. Published in <i>Delineator</i> , November, 1909, Vol. 74, p. 401.	
WHAT IS A COLLEGE FOR?	160
From <i>Scribner's Magazine</i> , November, 1909, Vol. 46, pp. 570-577.	
THE MINISTRY AND THE INDIVIDUAL	178
Address before the McCormick Theological Seminary at Chicago, November 2, 1909. Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1910, pp. 163-173.	
POLITICAL REFORM	188
Address at the City Club of Philadelphia, November 18, 1909. From the Close Manuscripts at Prince- ton University.	
LIVING PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY	193
From <i>Harper's Weekly</i> , April 9, 1910, Vol. 54, pp. 9-10.	
ADDRESS TO PITTSBURGH ALUMNI	202
Delivered at Pittsburgh banquet, April 16, 1910. From Pittsburgh <i>Dispatch</i> , April 17, 1910.	
HIDE AND SEEK POLITICS	204
From the <i>North American Review</i> , May, 1910, Vol. 191, pp. 585-601.	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
BANKERS AND STATESMANSHIP	225
Address before the New Jersey Bankers' Association at Atlantic City, May 6, 1910.	
From the <i>Proceedings</i> of the Seventh Annual Convention of the New Jersey Bankers' Association, pp. 81-87.	
BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS	234
Last address at Princeton University, June 12, 1910.	
From original typewritten manuscript bearing Mr. Wilson's own corrections, at the Library of Princeton University.	
THE LAWYER AND THE COMMUNITY	245
Annual address delivered before the American Bar Association at Chattanooga, Tennessee, August 31, 1910.	
From Mr. Wilson's original typewritten manuscript, containing his changes in pen and ink, in the Princeton University Library.	
LETTER OF RESIGNATION FROM PRINCETON UNIVERSITY	269
Read at meeting of board of trustees on October 20, 1910. From <i>Princeton Alumni Weekly</i> , October 26, 1910, Vol. 2, p. 68.	
INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY .	270
Delivered January 17, 1911. From the <i>Journal</i> of the Senate of New Jersey for 1911, pp. 58-68.	
ISSUES OF FREEDOM	283
Address delivered at banquet of the Knife and Fork Club of Kansas City, Missouri, May 5, 1911. From pamphlet.	
THE BIBLE AND PROGRESS	291
Address in the Auditorium, Denver, Colorado, at the tercentenary celebration of the translation of the Bible into the English language, May 7, 1911. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix, pp. 499-502.	
DEMOCRACY'S OPPORTUNITY	303
Address at rally of Democratic Clubs at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, June 15, 1911. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix pp. 519-520.	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE LAWYER IN POLITICS	310
Address before the Kentucky Bar Association at Lexington, Kentucky, July 12, 1911. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix, pp. 498-499.	
THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWS	318
Address at Carnegie Hall, New York, December 6, 1911. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix, pp. 497-498.	
ON THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL . . .	323
Letter to Professor R. H. Dabney of the University of Virginia, published in the <i>Richmond Times Dispatch</i> , December 26, 1911.	
THE TARIFF	325
Address before the National Democratic Club, New York, January 3, 1912. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, pp. 4748-4752.	
JACKSON DAY DINNER ADDRESS	344
Delivered at Washington, January 8, 1912. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, pp. 4745-4747.	
EFFICIENCY	354
Address delivered at a banquet of the real-estate men of Boston at the City Club, January 27, 1912. Introduced by Richard Olney, Secretary of State during the administration of President Cleveland. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix, pp. 495-497.	
RICHMOND ADDRESS	367
Address delivered before the General Assembly of Virginia and the City Council of Richmond on February 1, 1912. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, pp. 3319-3922.	
LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY	389
Address before the Iroquois Club of Chicago, Hotel La Salle, on Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1912. In pamphlet.	

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE TARIFF AND THE TRUSTS	405
Address delivered at Nashville, Tennessee, February 24, 1912. From pamphlet.	
WHAT JEFFERSON WOULD DO	424
Part of address delivered at Jefferson Day banquet, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, April 13, 1912. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, pp. 4747-4748.	
GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO BUSINESS	430
Address at the annual banquet of the Economic Club in the Hotel Astor, New York City, May 23, 1912. From <i>Congressional Record</i> , 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, Appendix, pp. 392-396.	
SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE	452
Speech delivered August 7, 1912, at Seagirt, New Jersey, accepting the Democratic nomination for President of the United States. From Senate Document 903, 62d Congress, 2d Session.	

COLLEGE AND STATE

POLITICS (1857-1907)

FROM THE "ATLANTIC MONTHLY," NOVEMBER, 1907,
VOL. C, PP. 635-46.

WE are separated from the year 1857 as men of one age are separated from those of another. We live amidst scenes and circumstances to which the events of that day can hardly be made to seem even a prelude. A stupendous civil war and the economic and political reconstruction of a nation have been crowded into the brief space of fifty years,—one era closed and another opened,—and it hardly seems possible that men now living can recollect as the happenings of a single lifetime events which seem to have wrought the effect of a couple of centuries. It was in fact the completion of one great process and the beginning of another. The process by which a nation was created and unified came at last to an end, and a still more fateful process began which was to determine its place and example in the general history of the world. Whether the new century we have entered upon will carry us to the completion of another phase of our life remains to be seen.

So far, a century seems to have been our dramatic unit: one century, the seventeenth, we spent upon the processes of settlement; another, the eighteenth, in clearing the continental spaces we had chosen for our own of all serious rivals, the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and in making ourselves free of oversight and interference from oversea; a third in constituting a nation, giving it government and homogeneity of life and institutions; and now we have entered upon a fourth century, and are sometimes in doubt what we shall do with

it. We have for the nonce no clear purpose or programme. We are finding ourselves in a new age, amidst new questions and new opportunities, and shall have a clear vision of what we are about only when common counsel shall have further steadied and enlightened us.

If assessed by events, the year 1857 was not a year of particular significance. It was rather a year between times, when the sweep of events seemed to pause, and some were tempted to interpret the signs of the times as signs of peace, it seeming on the surface as if old issues were in some sort concluded and a time of settled policy at hand. Men who looked beneath the surface could, of course, see that no peace or settled mode of action could come out of opinions and policies constituted as were the opinions and policies they then saw to be the ruling elements of politics. Such, among others, were the men who founded the *Atlantic Monthly*. And yet it was at least a year quiet and undisturbed enough to afford the historian an opportunity to look about him, and take stock of what had come and was coming. It was a year in which one chapter may close and another open, as if at a pause or turning-point in the narrative.

The year 1856 had witnessed a presidential election, and in March, 1857, Mr. Buchanan became President in the place of Mr. Pierce, Democrat succeeding Democrat; but some significant things had taken place within the Democratic ranks within the four years that had elapsed since Mr. Pierce was elected. In 1848, Mr. Polk, the Democratic candidate, had carried fifteen out of the twenty-six states that then constituted the Union; in 1852 Mr. Pierce had received the electoral votes of every state except Vermont, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Kentucky; but Mr. Buchanan had received the support of no states outside the South except Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, and Illinois. His party, from being national, had seemed amidst the new ordering of affairs to become of a sudden little more than sectional,

and, in spite of its success and, its apparent confidence, seemed touched, as other parties were, with change and decay. The Democratic party had had its easy successes at the last three presidential elections largely because other parties were going to pieces and it held together unbroken and with definite purpose with regard to the main issues of the day; but at last its own followers were yielding to the influences of divided opinion, and few besides its southern adherents remained steadfast of purpose.

The slavery question had proved an effectual solvent of parties,—not the question of the continued existence of slavery in the Southern States, but the question of the extension of slavery into the regions of settlement where new territories and states were being erected. It seemed a question impossible of definitive settlement until the ceaseless movement of population should come naturally to an end and the spaces of the continent should have been filled in everywhere with communities which had chosen their own order of life. Attempt after attempt had been made to determine it beforehand. The great Ordinance of 1787, contemporaneous with the making of the Constitution itself, had excluded slavery from the broad Northwest Territory which the States had ceded to the Union as a nursery of new commonwealths; the Missouri Compromise had excluded it from so much of the territory embraced within the Louisiana Purchase as lay north of the southern boundary of Missouri extended; and the extensive State of California, a small empire of itself, cut out of the vast territories snatched from Mexico, had been admitted as a State with a constitution of her own making which excluded slavery, thus determining the critical matter for the only portion of that great region with regard to which the movement of population rendered its immediate settlement imperative. Settlers by the tens of thousands had rushed into California upon the discovery of gold. The discovery had

been made the very month the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed (February, 1848), and before Congress was ready to legislate for the new possessions, California had become a self-governing community of the familiar frontier pattern, with ruling spirits to whom it was impossible to dictate law they did not like. The gold-hunters and the tradesmen who went with them neither had slaves nor wanted them, and Congress had no choice but to admit them as a state upon terms of their own making. And the rest of the Mexican cession it left open to be taken care of by the fortunes of settlement and the preference of its first occupants, after the same fashion. Such had been the terms of the famous Compromise of 1850, which also shut the odious slave trade out of the District of Columbia and provided southern slave-owners with a stringent Fugitive Slave Law which enabled them to recover their runaway slaves by simple and effective process through the action of the local officials of the federal government itself. That great Compromise, upon which Mr. Clay had spent the last years of his life and power,—that latest “settlement” of the irrepressible question,—was but six years old when Mr. Buchanan was chosen President.

But each successive handling of the critical matter seemed rather to unsettle than to determine it; and this last attempt to deal with it proved the least conclusive of all,—seemed, indeed, purposely to leave it open with regard at any rate to so much of the Mexican cession as was not included within the boundaries of the new State of California. Mr. Calhoun had explicitly denied the right of the federal government to exclude slaves, the legal property of such settlers as might come from the South, from the territories of the United States, and had declared it as his opinion, and that of all southern men who thought clearly of their rights under the partnership of the Union, that the people of the several territories, wherever situated, whether

on the one side or the other of compromise lines, had the constitutional right "to act as they pleased upon the subject of the status of the negro race amongst them, as upon other subjects of internal policy, when they came to form their constitutions," and to apply for admission to the Union as states. The Compromise of 1850 had been framed upon that principle; and that compromise was not four years old, Mr. Calhoun was not four years dead, before the new principle had been enacted into law, to the sweeping away of all former compromises and arrangements.

It had been an astonishing reversal of policy, brought about by a man of surprising vigor and directness, who for a little while seemed the leader of the country. Not Mr. Calhoun only, but Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay were dead; a new generation was on the stage, and its leader, while parties changed, was Stephen A. Douglas, since 1847 one of the senators from Illinois. No man better fitted for confident and aggressive leadership in an age of doubt and confusion could have been found, even in the western country from which he came. He was but forty-one, but had won every step of his way for himself since he came a lad out of Vermont, and knew how to work his will with men and circumstances. His appearance bespoke what he was. He was short of stature, but gave the impression of mass and extraordinary vigor, carrying his square, firmly set head with its mass of dark hair with an alert poise that gave their right bearing to his deep-set eyes and mouth of determined line. His friends dubbed him the Little Giant, with affectionate familiarity; and his opponents found in him a candor that matched his fearlessness, a daring and readiness of wit that were the more formidable in contests before the people because he was a bit coarse-fibred and could be counted on to hold his own in any sort of debate. He had in a certain sense taken Mr. Benton's place in the Senate. His chief interest was in the development of the western country, the new

communities constantly making to the westward, which were like the Illinois of his own youth, and carried so much of the vigor and initiative of American life; and he had by natural selection become chairman of the Senate's Committee on Territories. West of Iowa and Missouri stretched the great Platte country all the way to the Rockies, and across it ran the trails which were the highways into the far West. The western Indians had their hunting grounds there upon the plains, and the authorities at Washington had once and again thought of allotting to them an extensive reservation which should secure them in their hunting privileges. Mr. Douglas feared that something of that kind might throw a barrier across the main lines of the westward movement which he watched with such sympathy and interest, and had more than once urged the erection of a territory in the Platte country. In 1854 he had had his will, and had quickened the approach of revolution by the way in which he chose to have it.

His measure, as finally submitted to the Senate, provided for the creation of two territories, one lying immediately to the west of Missouri and to be known as Kansas, and the other, to be known as Nebraska, stretching northward upon the great plains through which the Platte found its way to the Missouri. Both lay north of the southern boundary of Missouri extended, the historic line of the Missouri Compromise, established now these thirty-three years, but Mr. Douglas declared himself impelled by "a proper sense of patriotic duty" to set that compromise aside and to act upon the principle of the later compromise of 1850, legislation which had been framed but the other day to compose the agitation of parties. The bill which he introduced, therefore, explicitly declared the Missouri Compromise "inoperative and void," and left the matter of the extension of slavery into the new territories entirely to the sovereign choice of the people who should occupy them.

Mr. Douglas did not wish to see slavery extended; he was simply taking what seemed to him the straightest way to the settlement of a vexed question which apparently could be settled in no other way. He did not expect the settlers of the new country to accept or desire slavery; he expected them to reject it. But whether they accepted it or rejected it, he thought them the best judges of such a question, affecting their own life and social makeup; and he did not believe that in any case Congress could either successfully or constitutionally determine such a matter beforehand. There were men in the Senate who earnestly opposed what he sought to do: Seward, and Sumner, and Chase, and Fish, and Foote, and Wade were there, the representatives of a new party which had devoted itself to this very task of blocking the extension of slavery; but they did not avail against the confident Democratic majority, which seemed to find a certain exhilaration in having obtained at last a leader who did not propose compromises but was willing to venture the open contests which only actual settlement and the direct action of the people themselves could conclude. It seemed clearly Democratic doctrine, this doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," and they accepted it with a certain zest and sense as of relief.

They must have seen how direct a challenge it was to the rival interests, pro-slavery and anti-slavery, to attempt a conquest of the new territories. Not that there was any question about Nebraska. That lay too far north to be available for the extension into it of the southern system. But that system had got its established foothold already in Missouri, and Kansas lay close neighbor to slave territory within the same parallels of latitude; and so far as her lands were concerned the challenge was accepted,—accepted in a way that held the attention of the whole country. It was a very tragic thing that ensued. Settlers out of the slave-owning states just at hand were naturally the first

to enter the new territory, taking their slaves with them; but there presently began a movement of settlers out of the North which was of no ordinary kind. Nothing could have stimulated active opposition to the extension of slavery more than what Mr. Douglas had done. He had notified the country that law was neither here nor there in such a matter; that there was no legislative body that had the authority to say beforehand whether slaves could go with the settlers who entered the new lands of the national domain or not; that the predominance of men who wished slavery or did not wish it—their predominance, not in the nation, but in the territories themselves—must determine the question. In brief, he had made it a question of numbers, a question of conquest, of prevailing majorities on the one side or the other. Kansas therefore began to be peopled as no other territory had been. Settlers were sent there by organized effort. Individuals and societies in the North set themselves to work to find the men and the means to take possession of it, and the new settlers came prepared for anything that might prove to be necessary to establish themselves or their principles in the new territory, whether legal or illegal, understanding that it was not to be a process of law but an act of choice made in any form of fact. It was an opportunity for desperate men, as well as for peaceful immigrants who wanted homes and came to till the broad, level acres of the prairie; and desperate men availed themselves of it. Kansas became a veritable battlefield. Men stopped at no violence to prevail, and flames of partisan warfare burst forth there which threatened, as every one saw, to spread to the whole Union.

Mr. Douglas's principles were put to the test the very year Mr. Buchanan became President. Until that year the pro-slavery men who had come out of Missouri and the farther South had predominated in numbers in Kansas, and had pressed their advantage with character-

istic energy and initiative. Before they had lost their majority by the pouring in of settlers coming faster and faster out of the North, they had called a constitutional convention, and had submitted to the people of the territory an instrument which established slavery by organic law. One of the first things it fell to Mr. Buchanan to do was to submit to Congress their application for admission to the Union as a state under that instrument. But Mr. Douglas would not vote to accept the new state on those terms, and there were men enough of his opinion in the Democratic ranks to exclude it. He knew that, even at the time the constitution which was submitted with the application was in process of being drawn and submitted, the weight of opinion in the territory had shifted, and that when the popular vote upon it was taken the majority of the voters of the territory were against it. Multitudes had refrained from voting upon the question of its acceptance at all, because they had felt that they were being tricked. The instrument was not submitted to them to be accepted or rejected, but to be accepted "with slavery" or "without slavery,"—all other provisions contained in it in any case to go into effect; and it was clear from the text of it that to vote for it "without slavery" would not in fact exclude slavery; because clauses which were quite independent of the organic provision in question threw effective safeguards about the ownership of slaves, which would in all probability in any case indirectly secure it. This was not "squatter sovereignty." Whatever might be said of Mr. Douglas's doctrine, he held it candidly and in all sincerity, and would not consent to deal falsely with it; and at the certain risk of losing the confidence of the southern wing of his party, now its chief and controlling wing, he voted against the admission of Kansas under a pro-slavery constitution, notwithstanding the fact that the President backed it with his recognition as, in form

at any rate, the legally expressed wish of the people of the territory.

And so things stood in the year 1857, a very doubtful face upon them,—a vast deal undone that had seemed at least to give definite form and security to the movements of politics, and nothing done by way of new definition or settlement. And then, as if to complete the confusion and destroy even Mr. Douglas's principle of action, came the Dred Scott decision, and the country learned that in the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States the people of a territory had no more right than Congress to forbid the holding of slaves as chattels within their boundaries. Dred Scott was a negro of Missouri, whose master had taken him first into one of the States from which slavery was excluded by local law, and then into one of the territories from which slavery had been excluded by the congressional legislation of 1820, the famous Missouri Compromise. After his return to Missouri and the death of his master, Scott sought to obtain his freedom on the ground that his temporary residence on free soil had operated to annul his master's rights over him. The court not only decided against him: it went much farther and undertook a systematic exposition of its opinion with regard to the legal status of slavery in national politics. It declared that in its opinion slaves were not citizens within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, but property, and that neither Congress nor the legislature of a territory—the power of a territorial government being only the power of Congress delegated—could legislate with hostile intent against any species of property belonging to citizens of the United States; that the compromise legislation of 1820 had been *ultra vires* and had no legal effect; and that under our constitutional allotment of powers only states could make valid laws concerning property, whether in slaves or in anything else. The repeal of the compromise measures of 1820 by Mr. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska

Bill of 1854 had not been necessary. They had been legally null from the first. The Dred Scott decision was uttered two days after Mr. Buchanan's inauguration.

As if there were not grounds enough of uneasiness, financial distress was added,—not because of the political fears and disquietude of the time, though they no doubt played their part in disturbing the minds of men of business and clouding their calculations of the future,—but because of the operation of forces familiar enough in financial history. An era of extraordinary enterprise had followed the rapid extension of railways and the successful establishment of steam navigation on the seas, and the discovery of gold in California had added excitement to enterprise when stimulation was not necessary and excitement was very dangerous. It was hard at best to give solidity and prudent limit to industrial and commercial undertakings which sought to keep pace with the growth of a new nation, to follow a people constantly moving everywhere into new lands, spreading their thin and scattered settlements far and near upon the practically unlimited spaces of a great continent. It was a speculative process in any case, based upon necessarily uncertain calculations as to the movement of population and the development of industry. The very railways which facilitated enterprise were themselves hazardous pieces of business, and had been pushed so fast and far through sparsely settled districts as to give those who invested in them scant return for their money, when they gave them any return at all and did not prove utter financial failures, so far as those were concerned who met their first cost. The speculative element in business, necessarily present everywhere, had grown larger and larger until, added to mere waste and bad management and flat dishonesty, there had come an inevitable crash of credit, and in the reaction business was prostrated. The crisis came in the winter which followed the presidential election of 1856, and Mr. Buchanan's term of office began when its

effects were freshest and most depressing. It did not wear the features of panic, after the first crash had come, so much as of mere lethargy. Enterprise was at a standstill: the face of all business was dead; men not only did not venture, they did not hope: they were stunned, and the spirit taken out of them.

It was one of the significant signs of the times that no particular political importance was attributed to these financial disturbances. No one sought to make political capital of them. No doubt the uneasiness of the time, the removal of old political foundations by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the apparent transformation of the process of settlement into a process of civil war in Kansas, the rising passion of conviction that the contest of parties upon the question of slavery must presently come to some hot issue, contributed to confirm merchants and manufacturers and bankers and transportation companies in the opinion that nothing was safe that depended upon calculations of future advantage; but such matters lay apart from what politicians were chiefly thinking of, seemed to belong among the ordinary interests of the country's every-day life, and not among the extraordinary interests they were called on to handle, interests that loomed bigger and more ominous the more closely they were approached, the more intimately they were dealt with. Nothing financial was for the time being of party significance or interest. It was even possible to revise the tariff without party contest, in the interest of business instead of in the interest of politicians. It seemed to men of all parties that the tariff as it stood contributed to the financial distress of the time. It was steadily drawing into the Treasury a surplus of funds which the government did not use and which it was at that time especially inconvenient to withdraw from circulation. It was agreed, therefore, to put many of the raw materials of manufacture, hitherto taxed, on the free list, and to reduce the general level of duties to twenty-four

per cent. Not since the War of 1812 had it been possible to arrange such a matter so amicably, with so little debate, with such immediate concert of action. The interest of parties was evidently withdrawn to other things.

These friendly debates, Mr. Buchanan's decisive majority in the electoral college, and the apparent dispersion of all organized elements of opposition, might give to the year 1857, as we look back to it, a deceptive air of peace. Even the radical views of the Supreme Court in deciding the Dred Scott case, and the uncomfortable matter of determining the right of Kansas to enter the Union with a pro-slavery constitution, might be made to look like the end of a process of change rather than the beginning of things still more radical and doubtful of issue, if one were seeking signs of accommodation and were satisfied to look no deeper than the surface. Undoubtedly 1857 was a year of pause, when the strains of politics were for the moment eased. It seemed a year of peace and settled policy.

It was in fact, however, the pause which precedes concerted and decisive movements of opinion upon matters too critical to form the ordinary subjects of party contest. Parties will join issue as hotly as you please upon any ordinary question of the nation's life, even though the elements of that question cut perilously deep into individual interests and involve radical economic or political changes; but they waver, postpone, and evade when they come within sight of questions which cut as deep and swing through as wide a compass as did that which divided North and South, and seemed to involve the very character and perpetuation of the Union of the States. The Democratic party had held a steady enough course upon the question of slavery. No doubt it was the easier course to maintain,—the course which seemed only a fulfillment of the older understandings of our constitutional system, only a working out of the policy of the country on lines long

established and, it might be, inevitable. No doubt, too, the definite principles and undeviating purposes of the Southern men who constituted so important an element of the strength of the party, and who furnished from the ranks of their politicians so many men who had the capacity and the desire to lead, gave the party a leadership and a motive for framing definite programmes which the party of opposition lacked; and in a time of vacillation and doubt the confident party, with a mind of its own, has always the advantage. But, for whatever reason, the Democrats had so far remained for the most part of one mind and purpose, and other parties had gone to pieces. Only within the year had it begun to look as if a party ready to face the Democrats with resolute purpose and determined programme would at last form. The Whig party had finally gone to pieces in the presidential campaign of 1852. It had never been a party to declare its principles very strongly at critical moments or to espouse a cause very definitely in a time of doubt. It had had splendid leaders. The annals of the country have been made illustrious by few greater names than those of Webster and Clay, and their steadfast endeavor to keep the government to clear lines of thoughtful policy it must ever be the pleasure of the historian to praise; but the party had too often gone into presidential campaigns depending upon some mere popular cry, some passing enthusiasm of the people for a particular hero. The only Whig Presidents had been successful soldiers, General Harrison and General Taylor, both of whom died in office, to be succeeded, the one by Mr. Tyler who was not a Whig but a Democrat, the other by Mr. Fillmore who followed the leaders of his party, and counted for little in the formation of politics. Mr. Clay himself had shifted very uneasily from Yes to No in 1844 on the question of the annexation of Texas, when pitted against Mr. Polk, and the confident programme of the Democrats for "the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation

of Texas," to the great loss of personal prestige; and the "Liberty Party" which then drew discontented Whigs from Mr. Clay's following had found successors in parties which showed more and more powerful as the number of voters grew who found the Whigs without courage or purpose on the chief issue of the day.

It was easy, with the machinery of nominating conventions open to everybody's use, as it had been since General Jackson's day, to bring new parties into the field from season to season, though it was by no means so easy to give them strength and coherency amidst shifting opinion; and independent nominations had more than once diverted votes from the ruling party at critical moments. There was little doubt but that the sixty thousand votes cast for the candidate of the Liberty Party in 1844 had been chiefly drawn from the Whig ranks, and had cost Mr. Clay the election. In 1848 a "Free-Soil" convention had nominated Mr. Van Buren, and a strong faction of Democrats in New York, displeased with the attitude of their party on the question of slavery in the Mexican cession, had followed their example, with the result that the Whig candidate won and the Democrat lost. The opposition to the extension of slavery was strongest among men of Whig connections, but it showed itself also in the Democratic ranks and rendered party calculations most uncertain. Mr. Wilmot, whose proviso against slavery had made such difficulty in the debates on the Mexican cession, was a Democrat, not a Whig, not a professed partisan of the new men of Mr. Seward's creed, who were slowly making their way into Congress. The Free-Soil men held another convention in 1852, when the Whigs went to pieces, and spoke to the country with a ringing platform of "no slave states, no more slave territories, no nationalized slavery, no national legislation for the extradition of slaves," and again made their own nomination for the presidency; but opinion was shifting again; the Compromise of 1850 had disposed voters for the

time to let critical matters alone; restless men were turning in other directions, and the Free-Soilers reaped no apparent advantage from the break-up of parties. It was not until Mr. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the pitiful spectacle of the struggle in Kansas which followed, had drawn men sharply from thought to action, that the Republican party emerged and showed the strength of a party that would last and win its way to power; and even then it felt obliged to compound a singular Free-Soil-Anti-Nebraska-Whig creed and nominate a Democrat for the presidency.

Meantime there had been witnessed an extraordinary diversion in the field of parties. The Know-Nothing party had sprung into sudden importance, with a programme which had nothing to say of slavery one way or the other, but concentrated attention upon the formidable tide of foreigners pouring into the country, because of the famine in Ireland and the political upheavals of 1848 in Europe, and urged upon the country the necessity of safeguarding its institutions against alien influences, of confining its gifts of political office to native Americans, and of regulating very circumspectly the bestowal of the suffrage. Voters turned to this new party as if glad to find some new current for their thoughts, some new interest touched at least with a common patriotism. In the autumn of 1854 the Know-Nothings elected their candidates for the governorship in Massachusetts and Delaware, and sent nearly a hundred members to the House of Representatives. In the autumn of 1855 they carried New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California, and fell but little short of winning majorities in six of the Southern States. The House of Representatives which met in December, 1855, was an extraordinary medley of Democrats, Anti-Nebraska men, Free-Soilers, southern pro-slavery Whigs, northern anti-slavery Whigs, Know-Nothings who favored the extension of slavery, and Know-Noth-

ings who opposed it. Nothing was certain of that assembly except that the Democrats had lost their majority in it. Even in 1856, when the elements of opposition began to draw together into the Republican party, there were still in the field a remnant of Whigs and a remnant of Know-Nothings. The four years of another administration were needed for the final formation of parties as they were to enter the conclusive contest of 1860. And so the year 1857 was a year between-times, when the country had not yet consciously drawn away from its past, had not yet consciously entered its revolutionary future.

It was indeed a revolution which ensued. Changes more complete, more pervasive and radical than those which were wrought by the war between the States, by the "Reconstruction" of the Southern States, and by all that has followed of social and economic transformation, could hardly be imagined. The nation of 1907 is hardly recognizable, socially, politically, or economically, as the nation of 1857 or of 1860. The generation that wrought that extraordinary revolution left the stage but yesterday. We have all known and familiarly conversed with men who belonged to it and who performed its tremendous tasks. Some of the soldiers who officered the armies of that war of transformation are still among us. But we do not think their thoughts; it requires an effort of the imagination to carry our minds back to the things which are for them the most vital facts and recollections of their lives. Even they are now unconsciously dominated by influences which have lost all flavor of the days they remember. They have come to think our thoughts and see the world as we see it: a nation not made apparently by the forces they handle, but by forces new and of a modern world,—by vast economic alterations and unforeseen growths of enterprise and endeavor; by the opening up of the Orient and the new stir of affairs upon the Pacific; by an unlooked-for war which has

drawn us out of our one-time domestic self-absorption into the doubtful and perilous field of international politics; by new influences of opinion and new problems of political organization and of legal regulation. Nothing remains of that older day but the irreparable mischief wrought by the reconstruction of the Southern States. That folly has left upon us the burden of a race problem well-nigh insoluble, which even the alchemy of these extraordinary fifty years has not transmuted into stuff of calculable human purpose. That is of the old world; all else is of the new. We see what has gone by only across a gulf of unfamiliar things.

And so we stand in the year 1907 as if in a new age, and look not back but forward. It would perhaps be too fanciful to pretend to find in 1907 a close parallel of circumstances with the far year 1857, which lies so long a half century away from us; but there is this particular feature of resemblance, that this, like that, is a brief season between times, when forces are gathering which we have not clearly analyzed, and tasks are to be performed for which we have not formed definite party combinations. Parties are in partial solution now as then, and for the same reason. The issue of the day is clearly enough defined in our thoughts, as was the issue with regard to the extension of slavery in the thought of all observant men in 1857; but parties have not yet squarely aligned themselves along what must of course be the line of cleavage. It is manifest that we must adjust our legal and political principles to a new set of conditions which involve the whole moral and economic makeup of our national life; but party platforms are not yet clearly differentiated, party programmes are not yet explicit for the voter's choice. Let us hope that we are on the eve of a campaign of sharp definition.

There are many things to define, and yet there is only one thing. It is easy enough to point out the perplexing

complexity of our present field of choice in every matter that calls for action. Our new business organization is so different from our old, to which we had adjusted our morals and our economic analyses, that we find ourselves confused when we try to think out its problems. Everything is upon a gigantic scale. The individual is lost in the organization. No man any longer, it would seem, understands the whole of any modern business. Every part of every undertaking demands special knowledge and expert skill. Individuals play their parts in subordination to the organizations which they serve, and we are made to doubt their moral responsibility beyond the limits of the mere tasks they are set to do; and yet the morality of the machine itself we do not know how to formulate. If we cannot formulate its morals, we cannot formulate the legal principles upon which we are to deal with it; for law is only so much of the moral understandings of society, so much of its rules of right and of convenience as it has been possible to reduce to principles plainly suitable for general application without too much doubt or refinement. Our thinkers, whether in the field of morals or in the field of economics, have before them nothing less than the task of translating law and morals into the terms of modern business; and inasmuch as morals cannot be corporate, but must be individual, however ingeniously the individual may seek covert, that task in simple terms comes to this: to find the individual amidst modern circumstances and bring him face to face once more with a clearly defined personal responsibility.

And that is the one thing which the politician, as well as the moralist and the economist, must make up his mind about. It is easy to state the matter in a way that makes it sound very subtle, very philosophical, a thing for the casuist, not for the man of affairs. But it is a plain question for practical men after all. And practical men are very busy just now, in confused and haphazard ways, perhaps, but very energetically, nevertheless, in

settling it for better or for worse. We state our problem for statesmen by saying that it is the problem of the control of corporations. Corporations are, of course, only combinations of individuals, but the individuals combined in them have a power in their respective fields, an opportunity of enterprise, which is beyond all precedent in private undertakings and which gives them a sort of public character, if only by reason of their size and scope and the enormous resources they command; some of them seeming, if it were possible, rivals of the government itself in their control over individuals and affairs. Lawyers have always spoken of corporations as artificial persons, but these modern corporations seem in the popular imagination and in the minds of lawmakers to be actual persons, the colossal personalities of modern industrial society.

One school of politicians amongst us, one school of lawyers and of lawmakers, accepts the prodigy as literal fact, and tries to deal with it as with a person. It is a new doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." Mr. Douglas maintained that those who formed the great corporate bodies of the West which we have called territories could not by any rightful legal principle be dealt with as citizens, but must be suffered corporately to form their lives and practices as they pleased, and then dealt with as states; his modern counterparts tell us that corporations must contrive their ways of business at their pleasure and peril, and that law cannot deal with them as a body of citizens but only as an organized power to be regulated in its entirety and handled as a corporate member of our new national society of corporations. Corporations, we are told, have grown bigger than States, and must take a sort of precedence of them in the new organism of our law, being made participants in a federal system of legal regulation which States cannot negative or tamper with. The only way in which to meet such amazing—I had almost said amusing—ideas, is to meet them as the older doctrine of squatter

sovereignty was met: by a flat denial that there is or can be any such thing as corporate morality or a corporate privilege and standing which is lifted out of the realm of ordinary citizenship and individual responsibility. The whole theory is compounded of confused thinking and impossible principles of law; and the political party that explicitly rejects it and substitutes for it plain sense and feasible law will bring health and exhilaration of comprehensible policy into affairs again.

The present apparent approach of the two great parties of the nation to one another, their apparent agreement upon the chief questions now of significance, is not real, it is only apparent. At any rate it is plain that if it is in fact taking place, it does not truly represent the two great bodies of opinion that exist in the nation. There is a great and apparently growing body of opinion in the country which approves of a radical change in the character of our institutions and the objects of our law, which wishes to see government, and the federal government at that, regulate business. Some men who entertain this wish perceive that it is socialistic, some do not. But of course it is socialistic. Government cannot properly or intelligently regulate business without fully comprehending it in its details as well as in its larger aspects; it cannot comprehend it except through the instrumentality of expert commissions; it cannot use expert commissions long for purposes of regulation without itself by degrees undertaking actually to order and conduct what it began by regulating. We are at present on the high road to government ownership of many sorts, or to some other method of control which will in practice be as complete as actual ownership.

On the other hand, there is a great body of opinion, slow to express itself, sorely perplexed in the presence of modern business conditions, but very powerful and upon the eve of an uprising, which prefers the older and simpler methods of the law, prefers courts to commissions, and believes them, if properly used and

adapted, better, more efficacious, in the end more purifying, than the new instrumentalities now being so unthinkingly elaborated. The country is still full of men who retain a deep enthusiasm for the old ideals of individual liberty, sobered and kept within bounds by the equally old definitions of personal responsibility, the ancient safeguards against license; and these men are right in believing that those older principles can be so used as to control modern business and keep government outside the pale of industrial enterprise. The law can deal with transactions instead of with methods of business, and with individuals instead of with corporations. It can reverse the process which creates corporations, and instead of compounding individuals, oblige corporations to analyze their organization and name the individuals responsible for each class of their transactions. The law, both civil and criminal, can clearly enough characterize transactions, can clearly enough determine what their consequences shall be to the individuals who engage in them in a responsible capacity. New definitions in that field are not beyond the knowledge of modern lawyers or the skill of modern lawmakers, if they will accept the advice of disinterested lawyers. We shall never moralize society by fining or even dissolving corporations; we shall only inconvenience it. We shall moralize it only when we make up our minds as to what transactions are reprehensible, and bring those transactions home to individuals with the full penalties of the law. That is the other, the greater body of opinion; one or other of the great parties of the nation must sooner or later stand with it, while the other stands with those who burden government with the regulation of business by direct oversight.

Such a season between times as this in which we live demands nothing so imperatively as clear thinking and definite conviction: thinking clear both in its objects and in its details; conviction which can be satisfied only

by action. The *Atlantic Monthly* has enjoyed the great distinction of supplying the writing of conviction throughout the deep troubles and perplexities of a half-century of contest and reconstruction; it enters now upon a second half-century which is no less in need of similar tonic. Our very political ideals are now to be decided. We are to keep or lose our place of distinction among the nations, by keeping or losing our faith in the practicability of individual liberty.

LAW OR PERSONAL POWER.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB, NEW YORK, APRIL 13, 1908. FROM ORIGINAL TYPEWRITTEN MANUSCRIPT WITH MR. WILSON'S CORRECTIONS, IN THE LIBRARY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

WE hear a great deal of candidates and programmes, but very little of principles. Parties seem almost to have gone to pieces and to have become indistinguishable, except in so far as men by habit call themselves by this party name or by that. Both parties have with like eagerness turned to the regulation of the business of the country, the restraint and regulation of the great business corporations, and vie with each other in the radical measures which they propose; but the measures of the one might be the measures of the other. They are virtually indistinguishable in principle, and the principle they have in common is a bad principle which, if carried far enough in its application, would inevitably change the whole character of our government. It is time we stopped, for a little, speaking of candidacies and undertook to test measures by principles.

The greater part of the business of the country has come into the hands of great corporations and trusts, and its new aspects unquestionably require adjustments and re-formulations of the law, which the courts have not had the power or the courage to make and which must therefore be made by legislation. The mere scale of business operations, moreover, has vastly increased. Comparatively small groups of men in control of great corporations wield a power and control over the wealth and the business operations of the country which makes

them seem rivals of the government itself. Law must be strengthened and adapted to keep them in curb and to make them subservient to the general welfare. No one now advocates the old *laissez faire*; no one questions the necessity for a firm and comprehensive regulation of business operations in the interest of fair dealing, of a responsible exercise of power. We are all advocates of a firm and effective regulation, but those of us who are Democrats challenge the prevailing principles of regulation, the principles which the Republican party has introduced and carried to such radical lengths and which some Democrats, confused by the clamour of the hour, have too thoughtlessly and hastily espoused.

We have in fact turned from legal regulation to executive regulation. We have turned from law to personal power. It is that choice which as Democrats we challenge, and challenge with confidence, as opposed to every ancient principle of liberty and of just government. Have we given up law? Must we fall back on discretionary executive power? The government of the United States was established to get rid of arbitrary, that is, discretionary executive power. If we return to it, we abandon the very principles of our foundation, give up the English and American experiment and turn back to discredited models of government.

A mere casual examination of recent legislation will show that these statements are not based upon fancy or upon exaggeration, but upon the necessary character of the things we have been trying to do. Law which cannot define and discriminate the transactions which it is the purpose of the legislature to forbid is not ready to become law at all, and yet it is just that that our recent statutes enacted by way of regulating some of the most important enterprises of the country have failed to do. They have run in vague terms, lumping things permissible with things impermissible, interfering with business without analyzing it or carefully discriminating its good and bad features. And then when the results were

unsatisfactory they have sought to lodge the power to discriminate, to permit and forbid, in the hands of commissions with very extensive discretionary powers, administrative in character, not judicial; for no process is judicial which does not rest upon definition, upon detailed and explicit provisions of known law. The Sherman Act was as clumsy as it has been ineffectual, and the remedy for it has been to lodge the power to discriminate between what it should have forbidden and what it should have permitted in the hands of bodies of commissions appointed by the President.

The latest proposals are typical of all the rest. All combinations or agreements in restraint of trade had been forbidden by statute. But some agreements in restraint of trade, some sorts of pooling of rates by the railroads for instance, do not in fact operate to the detriment of the public or of trade itself, but are beneficial rather and to be desired in the interest alike of efficiency and economy. The lawmakers, upon that discovery, are not invited by the reformers to attempt definition of law which will discriminate between those agreements in restraint of trade which are innocent of monopolistic intent or effect and desirable in the interest of the community itself, from those which the vague original law was intended to prevent. They are urged, on the contrary, to put the whole matter in the hands of an executive officer. It is proposed to invite all corporations which wish to keep within the limits of the law to register with him and to submit all their contracts and arrangements to him for his sanction or disapproval, to let him make law by executive order.

The principle underlying the laws which have here and there set up powerful public service commissions is the same. These commissions are authorized not to administer precise rules of law made clear in the definitions of statutes, but to order this, that, or the other alteration, addition or adjustment in the actual administration of the business of the corporations which they

are set to supervise. It is true that these corporations are in a sense public servants: street railway companies, gas lighting companies, and the like. They use the public highways and enjoy public franchises of one kind or another and are engaged in kinds of business which can hardly be called private in character, but they are owned by private capital and operated for private profit. And yet their business is regulated, even in its chief administrative details, by public officers whose practical judgment is the standard of regulation, who are administering not rules of law but their own discretionary opinions. The law attempts no definitions in respect of these undertakings: it puts them in the hands of public officers; and yet undertakes no responsibility for their success or bankruptcy.

If this is necessary, government by law has broken down, and personal government has been substituted. I for one do not believe that it is necessary. Neither do I believe that the American people have consciously made any such choice. They have been hastened by reformers who acted upon no principle whatever into measures the real character and consequence of which were not explained to them. When those measures are understood, the people of this country will turn from them and substitute law once more for personal power.

To all thoughtful persons, scrupulous of the ancient principles of our law, it is evident where this demoralization crept in. It is plain why the federal government has become the patron of the people instead of the arbiter of just and definite law. Our later tariff legislation has not been based upon the general welfare, but upon the patronage of special interests already strong, already very influential in politics. No one can examine the confused and illogical schedules of the present tariff without perceiving that it is really a mass of special favors piled together in a bill which was not seeking a symmetrical development of the industries of the country, such as Hamilton urged in his great

Report on Manufactures upon which all tariff laws profess to be founded, but only to please every interest whose hostility was to be feared in the elections. A system of special favors is in its nature paternal. Its idea is not law but patronage, and, having created artificial conditions and produced thereby interests which in their time grew so large as to threaten to dominate the government itself by the very processes which produced the tariff, it is plain logic that this same patronizing government must play a further paternal rôle of special regulation, not by careful scientific definitions of law but by detailed variations of administrative process.

The opportunity of the Democratic party is the same all along the line: to return to government by law; to insist upon a tariff reconsidered in all its definitions, adjusted to the actual conditions of trade and manufacture, viewed, not interest by interest, but upon the proud basis of the country's needs and economies; to insist upon a currency, not based upon the sale of this, that or the other body or class of securities, but upon the actual assets and soundness of the banks of issue, redundancy checked by taxation, hazard offset by inspection for the enforcement of definite and uniform rules; to insist upon laws, whether of combination or of contract, of offensive or of defensive action, which shall be the same for the capitalist and for the laborer; to insist upon the precise fixing of responsibility on individuals; to insist, in brief, everywhere upon definition, uniform, exact, enforceable. If there must be commissions, let them be, not executive instrumentalities having indefinite powers capable of domineering as well as regulating, but tribunals of easy and uniform process acting under precise terms of power in the enforcement of precise terms of regulation.

It is perfectly possible to pick out transactions one by one to which definitions and regulations of law can be applied. If it is not, then law is impossible. The process is indeed slow; it is a process of investigation and

of experience of which ardent reformers are infinitely impatient; a process difficult to institute in a time of excitement and impatience for results like the present; but it is the only process of sound law-making. Moreover, it is perfectly possible to pick out responsible individuals and visit upon them the punishments of the law instead of checking business in order to eliminate undesirable practices. Sound government must ever be based upon definite law and individual responsibility. Corporate responsibility lacks vitality, corrects nobody. Corporations are creatures of the law; the law may exact of them any publicity of process it pleases, any analysis of their functions, any disclosure of their organization.

If juries have failed to convict indicted officials when the officers of the law have tried by indictment to correct corporate abuses, it has been because they were by no means sure that the persons indicted were really the responsible persons. Our lawmakers have made too little analysis of the things they wished to correct. Our law has not carefully enough discriminated real from nominal control, the masters from the servants. Many of the practices of our corporations which are most demoralizing, most against the public interest, most corrupt and most dangerous, were not originated by the official administrators of the corporation, the men actually in charge of its daily transactions, but by manipulators who owned or controlled the majority of their stock, who could change the officers of the corporation as they pleased, who wished to create this, that or the other impression on the stock market and who wished to get certain effects wrought on the balance sheet of the corporation reports. These were the real masters, with these rested the real responsibility. Has our law made an intelligent effort to find these men in its definitions of responsibility or in its imposition of penalties? It has known only fines, which fall upon innocent stock-

holders and guilty alike, and has left the real offenders unmolested in their practices.

The people of this country are not jealous of fortunes however great which have been built up by the honest development of great enterprises, which have been actually earned by business energy and sagacity; they are jealous only of speculative wealth, of the wealth which has been piled up by no effort at all but only by shrewd wits playing on the credulity of others, taking advantage of the weakness of others, trading in the necessities of others. This is "predatory wealth" and is found in stock markets, not in the administrative offices of great corporations where real business is conducted, real commodities made or exchanged. And what the lawmaker has failed to perceive in recent years is that the charges made by corporations for their manufactured goods or for their services have been determined oftentimes not by the desire of the corporation to charge more than what it sells is worth, but by the necessity it is under to earn dividends on watered stock or make good the terms of the sale of its plant at extravagant figures when it was made a part of some greater combination. Processes of over-capitalization are processes of fraud. The law should analyze and frustrate them. If it cannot, our situation will not be improved by putting the matter in the hands of some executive inquisitor. Our battle cry must be, "Back to the reign of law." The discretion of executive officers, whether you call them commissioners or not, is a mere quicksand upon which no nation can stand.

Only principles are constructive. No miscellaneous programme of measures formed by no principle, unified by no controlling purpose, can give life to a great national party and lift it above faction or futility. The principle to which the voters of this country should be called back now is the great constructive principle of the reign of law. The familiar Jeffersonian maxim that that government is the best which governs least,

translated into the terms of modern experience, means that that government is best whose processes least expose the individual to arbitrary interference and the choices of governors, which makes him most secure of the regular and impartial administration of fixed and uniform rules, which makes no distinction between class and class, aims always at eliminating undesirable transactions rather than at setting up official interference with the management of business, and looks to individuals, not to the general public (such as investors) to bear the penalties of infraction. Law, and the government as umpire; not discretionary power, and the government as master, should be the programme of every man who loves liberty and the established character of the Republic.

THE STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

FROM THE "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW," MAY, 1908,
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THE question of the relation of the States to the Federal Government is the cardinal question of our constitutional system. At every turn of our national development we have been brought face to face with it, and no definition either of statesmen or of judges has ever quieted or decided it. It cannot, indeed, be settled by the opinion of any one generation, because it is a question of growth, and every successive stage of our political and economic development gives it a new aspect, makes it a new question. The general lines of definition which were to run between the powers granted to Congress and the powers reserved to the States the makers of the Constitution were able to draw with their characteristic foresight and lucidity; but the subject-matter of that definition is constantly changing, for it is the life of the nation itself. Our activities change alike their scope and their character with every generation. The old measures of the Constitution are every day to be filled with new grain as the varying crop of circumstances comes to maturity. It is clear enough that the general commercial, financial, economic interests of the country were meant to be brought under the regulation of the Federal Government, which should act for all; and it is equally clear that what are the general commercial, financial, economic interests of the country is a question of fact, to be determined by circumstances which change under our very eyes, and that, case by case, we are inevitably drawn on to include under the

established definitions of the law matters new and unforeseen which seem in their magnitude to give to the powers of Congress a sweep and vigor certainly never conceived possible by earlier generations of statesmen, sometimes almost revolutionary even in our own eyes. The subject-matter of this troublesome definition is the living body of affairs.

It is difficult to discuss so critical and fundamental a question calmly and without party heat or bias when it has come once more, as it has now, to an acute stage. Just because it lies at the heart of our constitutional system, to decide it wrongly is to alter the whole structure and operation of our government, for good or for evil, and one would wish never to see the passion of party touch it to distort it. A sobering sense of responsibility should fall upon every one who handles it. No man should argue it this way or that for party advantage. Desire to bring the impartial truth to light must in such a case be the first dictate alike of true statesmanship and of true patriotism. Every man should seek to think of it and to speak of it in the true spirit of the founders of the government.

Almost every great internal crisis in our affairs has turned upon the question of State and Federal rights. To take but two instances, it was the central subject-matter of the great controversy over tariff legislation which led to attempted Nullification and of the still greater controversy over the extension of slavery which led to the war between the States; and these two controversies did more than any others in our history to determine the scope and character of the Federal government.

The principle of the division of powers between State and Federal Governments is a very simple one when stated in its most general terms. It is that the Legislatures of the States shall have control of all the general subject-matter of law, of private rights of every kind, of local interests and of everything that directly con-

cerns their people as communities,—free choice with regard to all matters of local regulation and development, and that Congress shall have control only of such matters as concern the peace and the commerce of the country as a whole. The opponents of the tariff of 1824 objected to the tariff system which Congress was so rapidly building up that it went much beyond the simple and legitimate object of providing the Federal Government with revenues in such a way as to stimulate without too much disturbing the natural development of the country and was unmistakably intended to guide and determine the whole trend of the nation's economic evolution, preferring the industries of one section of the country to those of another in its bestowal of protection and encouragement and so depriving the States as self-governing communities of all free economic choice in the development of their resources. Congress persisted in its course; Nullification failed as even an effectual protest against the power of a government of which General Jackson was the head,—never so sure he was right as when he was opposed; and a critical matter, of lasting importance, was decided. The Federal Government was conceded the power to determine the economic opportunities of the States. It was suffered to become a general providence, to which each part of the country must look for its chance to make lucrative use of its material resources.

The slavery question, though it cut deep into the social structure of a great section of the country and contained such heat as could not, when once given vent, be restrained from breaking into flame, as the tariff controversy had been, was, after all, a no more fundamental question, in its first essential form, than the question of the tariff. Could Congress exclude slavery from the Territories of the United States and from newly formed States? If it could, manifestly the slavery system, once restricted in territory, would in time die of the strictures which bound it. Mr. Lincoln was

quite right when he said that no nation could exist half slave and half free. But that was only by consequence. The immediate question was the power of Congress to determine the internal social and economic structure of society in the several States thereafter to be formed. It is not to my present purpose to trace the circumstances and influences which brought on the Civil War. The abolition of slavery by war, though natural, was not the necessary legal consequence of the contention that Congress possessed the power which it had exercised in the constitution of the Northwest Territory and in the enactment of the Missouri Compromise. What happened before the momentous struggle was over came about by the mere logic of human nature, by stress of human passion. What concerns me in the present discussion is that here, again, as in the building up of a fostering tariff, what turned out to be a far-reaching change in the very conception of Federal power had as its central point of controversy the question of the powers of the States as against the powers of the Government at Washington. The whole spirit and action of the Government were deeply altered in carrying that question one stage further toward a settlement.

And I am particularly interested to point out that here again, as in the tariff question, it was an inevitable controversy, springing, not out of theory, not out of the uneasy ambition of statesmen, but out of mere growth and imperious circumstance. Population was spreading over the great western areas of the country; new communities were forming, upon which lawyers could lay no binding prescription as to the life they should lead; new Territories were constantly to be organized, new States constantly to be admitted to the Union. A choice which every day assumed new forms was thrust upon Congress. Events gave it its variety, and Congress could not avoid the influences of opinion, which altered as circumstances changed, as it became more and more clear what the nation was to be. It was

of the very stuff of daily business, forced upon Congress by the opinion of the country, to answer the question, What shall these new communities be allowed to do with themselves, what shall they be suffered to make of the nation? May Congress determine, or is it estopped by the reserved powers of the States? The choices of growth cannot be postponed, and they seem always to turn upon some new doubt as to where the powers of the States leave off and the powers of the Federal Government begin.

And now the question has come upon us anew. It is no longer sectional, but it is all the more subtle and intricate, all the less obvious and tangible in its elements, on that account. It involves, first or last, the whole economic movement of the age and necessitates an analysis which has not yet been even seriously attempted. Which parts of the many-sided processes of the nation's economic development shall be left to the regulation of the States, which parts shall be given over to the regulation of the Federal Government? I do not propound this as a mere question of choice, a mere question of statesmanship, but also as a question, a very fundamental question, of constitutional law. What, reading our Constitution in its true spirit, neither sticking in its letter nor yet forcing it arbitrarily to mean what we wish it to mean, shall be the answer of our generation to the old question of the distribution of powers between Congress and the States? For us, as for previous generations, it is a deeply critical question. The very stuff of all our political principles, of all our political experience, is involved in it. In this all too indistinctly marked field of right choice our statesmanship shall achieve new triumphs or come to eventual shipwreck.

The old theory of the sovereignty of the States, which used so to engage our passions, has lost its vitality. The war between the States established at least this principle, that the Federal Government is, through its courts,

the final judge of its own powers. Since that stern arbitrament it would be idle, in any practical argument, to ask by what law of abstract principle the Federal Government is bound and restrained. Its power is "to regulate commerce between the States," and the attempts now made during every session of Congress to carry the implications of that power beyond the utmost boundaries of reasonable and honest inference show that the only limits likely to be observed by politicians are those set by the good sense and conservative temper of the country.

The proposed Federal legislation with regard to the regulation of child labor affords a striking example. If the power to regulate commerce between the States can be stretched to include the regulation of labor in mills and factories, it can be made to embrace every particular of the industrial organization and action of the country. The only limitation Congress would observe, should the Supreme Court assent to such obviously absurd extravagances of interpretation, would be the limitations of opinion and of circumstance.

It is important, therefore, to look at the facts and to understand the real character of the political and economic materials of our own day with a clear and statesmanlike vision, as the makers of the Constitution understood the conditions they dealt with. If the jealousies of the colonies and of the little States which sprang out of them had not obliged the makers of the Constitution to leave the greater part of legal regulation in the hands of the States it would have been wise, it would even have been necessary, to invent such a division of powers as was actually agreed upon. It is not, at bottom, a question of sovereignty or of any other political abstraction; it is a question of vitality. Uniform regulation of the economic conditions of a vast territory and a various people like the United States would be mischievous, if not impossible. The statesmanship which really attempts it is premature and unwise.

Undoubtedly the recent economic development of the country, particularly the development of the last two decades, has obliterated many boundaries, made many interests national and common which until our own day were separate and distinct; but the lines of these great changes we have not yet clearly traced or studiously enough considered. To distinguish them and provide for them is the task which is to test the statesmanship of our generation; and it is already plain that, great as they are, these new combinations of interest have not yet gone so far as to make the States mere units of local government. Not our legal conscience merely, but our practical interests as well, call upon us to discriminate and be careful, with the care of men who handle the vital stuff of a great constitutional system.

The United States are not a single, homogeneous community. In spite of a certain superficial sameness which seems to impart to Americans a common type and point of view, they still contain communities at almost every stage of development, illustrating in their social and economic structure almost every modern variety of interest and prejudice, following occupations of every kind, in climates of every sort that the temperate zone affords. This variety of fact and condition, these substantial economic and social contrasts, do not in all cases follow State lines. They are often contrasts between region and region rather than between State and State. But they are none the less real, and are in many instances permanent and ineradicable.

From the first the United States have been socially and economically divided into regions rather than into States. The New England States have always been in most respects of a piece; the Southern States had always more interests in common than points of contrast; and the Middle States were so similarly compounded even in the day of the erection of the government that they might without material inconvenience have been treated as a single economic and political unit. These first mem-

bers of the Union did, indeed, have an intense historical individuality which made them easily distinguishable and rendered it impossible, had any one dreamed of it, to treat them as anything but what they were, actual communities, quick with a character and purpose of their own. Throughout the earlier process of our national expansion States formed themselves, for the most part, upon geographical lines marked out by nature, within the limiting flood of great rivers or the lifted masses of great mountain chains; with here and there a parallel of latitude for frontier, but generally within plots of natural limit where those who had set up homes felt some natural and obvious tie of political union draw them together. In later years, when States were to be created upon the great plains which stretched their fertile breadths upon the broad mid-surfaces of the continent, the lines chosen for boundaries were those which had been run by the theodolite of the public surveyor, and States began to be disposed upon the map like squares upon a great chess board, where the human pieces of the future game of politics might come to be moved very much at will, and no distinct economic, though many social, varieties were to be noted among neighbor commonwealths.

But, while division by survey instead of by life and historical circumstance no doubt created some artificial political divisions with regard to which the old theories of separate political sovereignty seemed inapplicable enough, the contrasts between region and region were in no way affected, resemblances were rendered no more striking than the differences which remained. We have been familiar from the first with groups of States united in interest and character; we have been familiar from the first also with groups of States contrasted by obvious differences of occupation and of development. These differences are almost as marked now as they ever were, and the vital growth of the nation depends upon our

recognizing and providing for them. It will be checked and permanently embarrassed by ignoring them.

We are too apt to think that our American political system is distinguished by its central structure, by its President and Congress and courts, which the Constitution of the Union set up. As a matter of fact, it is distinguished by its local structure, by the extreme vitality of its parts. It would be an impossibility without its division of powers. From the first it has been a nation in the making. It has come to maturity by the stimulation of no central force or guidance, but by the abounding self-helping, self-sufficing energy of its parts, which severally brought themselves into existence and added themselves to the Union, pleasing first of all themselves in the framing of their laws and constitutions, not asking leave to exist, but existing first and asking leave afterwards, self-originated, self-constituted, self-confident, self-sustaining, veritable communities, demanding only recognition. Communities develop, not by external, but by internal forces. Else they do not live at all. Our commonwealths have not come into existence by invitation, like plants in a tended garden; they have sprung up of themselves, irrepressible, a sturdy, spontaneous product of the nature of men nurtured in a free air.

It is this spontaneity and variety, this independent and irrepressible life of its communities, that has given our system its extraordinary elasticity, which has preserved it from the paralysis which has sooner or later fallen upon every people who have looked to their central government to patronize and nurture them. It is this, also, which has made our political system so admirable an instrumentality of vital constitutional understandings. Throughout these lectures I have described constitutional government as that which is maintained upon the basis of an intimate understanding between those who conduct government and those who obey it. Nowhere has it been possible to maintain such under-

standings more intimately or with a nicer adjustment to every variety of circumstance than in the United States. The distribution of the chief powers of government among the States is the localization and specialization of constitutional understandings; and this elastic adaptation of constitutional processes to the various and changing conditions of a new country and a vast area has been the real cause of our political success.

The division of powers between the States and the Federal Government effected by our Federal Constitution was the normal and natural division for this purpose. Under it the States possess all the ordinary legal choices that shape a people's life. Theirs is the whole of the ordinary field of law: the regulation of domestic relations and of the relations between employer and employee, the determination of property rights and of the validity and enforcement of contracts, the definition of crimes and their punishments, the definition of the many and subtle rights and obligations which lie outside the fields of property and contract, the establishment of the laws of incorporation and of the rules governing the conduct of every kind of business. The presumption insisted upon by the Courts in every argument with regard to the Federal Government is that it has no power not explicitly granted it by the Federal Constitution or reasonably to be inferred as the natural or necessary accompaniment of the powers there conveyed to it; but the presumption with regard to the powers of the States they have always held to be of exactly the opposite kind. It is that the States of course possess every power that government has ever anywhere exercised, except only those powers which their own constitutions or the Constitution of the United States explicitly or by plain inference withhold. They are the ordinary governments of the country; the Federal Government is its instrument only for particular purposes.

Congress is, indeed, the immediate government of the people. It does not govern the States, but acts

directly upon individuals, as directly as the governments of the States themselves. It does not stand at a distance and look on,—to be ready for an occasional interference;—but is the immediate and familiar instrument of the people in everything that it undertakes, as if there were no States. The States do not stand between it and the people. But the field of its action is distinct, restricted, definite.

We are not concerned in our present discussion with its powers as representative of the people in regulating the foreign affairs of the country. The discussion of the relation of the States to the Federal Government does not touch that field. About it there has never been doubt or debate. Neither is the power of the Federal Government to tax, or to regulate the military establishments of the country, any longer in dispute, even though the Federal Government use its power to tax to accomplish many an indirect object of economic stimulation or control which touches the independent industrial choices of the States very nearly. The one source from which all debatable Federal powers of domestic regulation now spring is the power to regulate commerce between the States.

The chief object of the Union and of the revision of the Articles of Confederation was undoubtedly commercial regulation. It was not political, but economic, warfare between the States which threatened the existence of the new Union and made every prospect of national growth and independence doubtful—the warfare of selfish commercial regulation. It was intended, accordingly, that the chief, one might almost say the only, domestic power of Congress in respect of the daily life of the people should be the power to regulate commerce.

It seemed a power susceptible of very simple definition at the first. Only in our own day of extraordinary variation from the older and simpler types of industry has it assumed aspects both new and without limit of

variety. It is now no longer possible to frame any simple or comprehensive definition of "commerce." Above all is it difficult to distinguish the "commerce" which is confined within the boundaries of a single State and subject to its domestic regulation from that which passes from State to State and lies within the jurisdiction of Congress. The actual interchange of goods, which, strictly speaking, is commerce, within the narrow and specific meaning of the term, is now so married to their production under our great modern industrial combinations, organization and community of interest have so obscured the differences between the several parts of business which once it was easy to discriminate, that the power to regulate commerce subtly extends its borders every year into new fields of enterprise and prys into every matter of economic effort.

Added to this doubt and difficulty of analysis which makes it a constant matter of debate what the powers of Congress are is the growing dissatisfaction with the part the States are playing in the economic life of the day. They either let the pressing problems of the time alone and attempt no regulation at all, however loudly opinion and circumstance itself may call for it, or they try every half-considered remedy, embark upon a thousand experiments, and bring utter confusion upon the industry of the country by contradicting and offsetting each other's measures. No two States act alike. Manufacturers and carriers who serve commerce in many States find it impossible to obey the laws of all, and the enforcement of the laws of the States in all their variety threatens the country with a new war of conflicting regulations as serious as that which made the Philadelphia convention of 1787 necessary and gave us a new Federal Constitution. This conflict of laws in matters which vitally interest the whole country and in which no State or region can wisely stand apart to serve any particular interest of its own constitutes the greatest political danger of our day. It is more apt and powerful than

any other cause to bring upon us radical and ill-considered changes. It confuses our thinking upon essential matters and makes us hasty reformers out of mere impatience. We are in danger of acting before we clearly know what we want or comprehend the consequences of what we do,—in danger of altering the character of the government in order to escape a temporary inconvenience.

We are an industrial people. The development of the resources of the country, the command of the markets of the world, is for the time being more important in our eyes than any political theory or lawyer's discrimination of functions. We are intensely "practical," moreover, and insist that every obstacle, whether of law or fact, be swept out of the way. It is not the right temper for constitutional understandings. Too "practical" a purpose may give us a government such as we never should have chosen had we made the choice more thoughtfully and deliberately. We cannot afford to belie our reputation for political sagacity and self-possession by any such hasty processes as those into which such a temper of mere impatience seems likely to hurry us.

The remedy for ill-considered legislation by the States, the remedy alike for neglect and mistake on their part, lies, not outside the States, but within them. The mistakes which they themselves correct will sink deeper into the consciousness of their people than the mistakes which Congress may rush in to correct for them, thrusting upon them what they have not learned to desire. They will either themselves learn their mistakes, by such intimate and domestic processes as will penetrate very deep and abide with them in convincing force, or else they will prove that what might have been a mistake for other States or regions of the country was no mistake for them, and the country will have been saved its wholesome variety. In no case will their failure to correct

their own measures prove that the Federal Government might have forced wisdom upon them.

There is, however, something else that comes to the surface, and that explains not a little of our present dissatisfaction with State legislation upon matters of vital national importance. Their failure to correct their own processes may prove that there is something radically wrong with the structure and operation of their governments,—that they have ceased to be sensitive and efficient instruments for the creation and realization of opinion,—the real function of constitutional governments.

It is better to learn the true political lesson than merely to improve business. There is something involved which is deeper than the mere question of the distribution of legislative powers within our Federal system. We have come to the test of the intimate and detailed processes of self-government to which it was supposed that our principles and our experience had committed us. There are many evidences that we are losing confidence in our State Legislatures, and yet it is evident that it is through them that we attempt all the more intimate measures of self-government. To lose faith in them is to lose faith in our very system of government, and that is a very serious matter. It is this loss of confidence in our local legislatures that has led our people to give so much heed to the radical suggestions of change made by those who advocate the use of the initiative and the referendum in our processes of legislation, the virtual abandonment of the representative principle and the attempt to put into the hands of the voters themselves the power to initiate and negative laws,—in order to enable them to do for themselves what they have not been able to get satisfactorily done through the representatives they have hitherto chosen to act for them.

Such doubts and such consequent proposals of reform should make us look deeper into this question than we have hitherto looked. It may turn out, upon examina-

tion, that what we are really dissatisfied with is not the present distribution of powers between the State and Federal authorities, but the character of our State governments. If they were really governments by the people we should not be dissatisfied with them. We are impatient of State Legislatures because they seem to us less representative of the thoughtful opinion of the country than Congress is. We know that our Legislatures do not think alike, but we are not sure that our people do not think alike. If there is a real variety of opinion among our people in the several regions of the country, we would be poor lovers of democratic self-government were we to wish to see those differences overridden by the majorities of a central Legislature. It is to be hoped that we still sufficiently understand the real processes of political life to know that a growing country must grow, that opinion such as government can be based upon develops by experience, not by authority, that a region forced is a region dissatisfied, and that spontaneous is better, more genuine, more permanent than forced agreement.

The truth is that our State governments are many of them no longer truly representative governments. We are not, in fact, dissatisfied with local representative assemblies and the government which they impose; we are dissatisfied, rather, with regulations imposed by commissions and assemblies which are no longer representative. It is a large subject, of many debatable parts, and I can only touch upon it here, but the fact is that we have imposed an impossible task upon our voters, and that because it is impossible they do not perform it. It is impossible for the voters of any busy community actually to pick out or in any real sense choose the very large number of persons we call upon them under our present State Constitutions to elect. They have neither the time nor the quick and easy means of co-operation which would enable them to make up the long lists of candidates for offices local and national upon

which they are expected to act. They must of necessity leave the selection to a few persons who, from one motive or another, volunteer to make a business of it. These are the political bosses and managers whom the people obey and affect to despise. It is unjust to despise them. Under a system of innumerable nominations they are indispensable. A system of so-called popular elections like ours could not be operated successfully without them. But it is true that by their constant and professional attention to the business of nomination a real popular choice of candidates is done away with entirely, and that our State officers and legislators are in effect appointed, not elected. The question at an election is only which set of appointees shall be put into office, those appointed by the managers and bosses of this party or of that. It is this, whether our people are distinctly conscious of it or not, which has so seriously impaired their confidence in the State Legislatures and which has made them look about for new means by which to obtain a real choice in affairs.

Members of Congress are themselves voted for on the lists which the local managers prepare, are themselves appointed to their candidacy as the candidates for local functions are, but because they are relatively few in number and their office national, attention is more or less concentrated upon them. There is a more general interest in their selection, by which party managers are sure to be somewhat checked and guided. After their election, moreover, they become members of an assembly highly organized and disciplined and act under a very strict party responsibility in which the personal force and character of the Speaker of the House plays a greater part than their own. The man by whom they are led is scarcely less conspicuous as a national figure than the President himself and they are but wheels in a great piece of machinery which is made sensitive to opinion in ways which local managers in no sort control. The opinion of the whole country beats upon

them. The country feels, therefore, that, however selected, they are in some sense more representative, more to be depended on to register its thoughtful judgments, than the members of State Legislatures are.

It is for this reason as much as for any other that the balance of powers between the States and the Federal Government now trembles at an unstable equilibrium and we hesitate into which scale to throw the weight of our purpose and preference with regard to the legislation by which we shall attempt to thread the maze of our present economic needs and perplexities. It may turn out that what our State governments need is not to be sapped of their powers and subordinated to Congress, but to be reorganized along simpler lines which will make them real organs of popular opinion. A government must have organs; it cannot act inorganically, by masses. It must have a lawmaking body; it can no more make laws through its voters than it can make them through its newspapers.

It would be fatal to our political vitality really to strip the States of their powers and transfer them to the Federal Government. It cannot be too often repeated that it has been the privilege of separate development secured to the several regions of the country by the Constitution, and not the privilege of separate development only, but also that other more fundamental privilege that lies back of it, the privilege of independent local opinion and individual conviction, which has given speed, facility, vigor, and certainty to the processes of our economic and political growth. To buy temporary ease and convenience for the performance of a few great tasks of the hour at the expense of that would be to pay too great a price and to cheat all generations for the sake of one.

Undoubtedly the powers of the Federal Government have grown enormously since the creation of the Government; and they have grown for the most part without amendment of the Constitution. But they have

grown in almost every instance by a process which must be regarded as perfectly normal and legitimate. The Constitution cannot be regarded as a mere legal document, to be read as a will or a contract would be. It must of the necessity of the case be a vehicle of life. As the life of the nation changes so must the interpretation of the document which contains it change, by a nice adjustment determined, not by the original intention of those who drew the paper, but by the exigencies and the new aspects of life itself. Changes of fact and alterations of opinion bring in their train actual extensions of community of interest, actual additions to the catalogue of things which must be included under the general terms of the law. The commerce of great systems of railway is of course not the commerce of wagon roads, the only land commerce known in the days when the Constitution was drafted. The common interests of a nation bound together in thought and interest and action by the telegraph and the telephone, as well as by the rushing mails which every express train carries, have a scope and variety, an infinite multiplication and intricate interlacing of which a simpler day can have had no conception. Every general term of the Constitution has come to have a meaning as varied as the actual variety of the things which the country now shares in common.

The character of the process of constitutional adaptation depends first of all upon the wise or unwise choice of statesmen, but ultimately and chiefly upon the opinion and purpose of the courts. The chief instrumentality by which the law of the Constitution has been extended to cover the facts of national development has been judicial interpretation, the decisions of the courts. The process of formal amendment of the Constitution was made so difficult by the provisions of the Constitution itself that it has seldom been feasible to use it; and the difficulty of formal amendment has undoubtedly made the courts more liberal, not to say more

lax, in their interpretation than they would otherwise have been. The whole business of adaptation was theirs, and they have undertaken it with open minds, sometimes even with boldness and a touch of audacity. But, though they have sometimes been lax, though they have sometimes yielded, it may be, to the pressure of popular agitation and of party interest, they have not often overstepped the bounds of legitimate extension. By legitimate extension I mean extension which does not change the character of the Federal power but only its items,—which does not make new kinds, but only new particulars of power.

The members of courts are necessarily men of their own generation: we would not wish to have them men of another. Constitutional law, as well as statesmanship, must look forward, not backward, and, while we should wish the courts to be conservative, we should certainly be deeply uneasy were they to hold affairs back from their natural alteration. Change as well as stability may be conservative. Conservative change is conservative, not of prejudices, but of principles, of established purposes and conceptions, the only things which in government or in any other field of action can abide. Conservative progress is a process, not of revolution, but of modification. In our own case and in the matter now under discussion it consists in a slowly progressive modification and transfer of functions as between the States and the Federal Government along the lines of actual development, along the lines of actual and substantial alterations of interest and of that national consciousness which is the breath of all true amendment,—and not along lines of party or individual purpose, nor by way of desperate search for remedies for existing evils.

No doubt courts must “make” law for their own day, must have the insight which adapts law to its uses rather than its uses to it, must sometimes venture upon decisions which have a certain touch of states-

manlike initiative in them. We shall often find ourselves looking to them for strong and fearless opinions. But there are two kinds of "strong" opinions, as a distinguished English jurist long ago pointed out. There are those which are strong with the strength of insight and intelligence and those which are strong with the mere strength of will. The latter sort all judges who act with conscience, mindful of their oaths of office, should eschew as they would eschew the actual breaking of law. That the Federal courts should have such a conscience is essential to the integrity of our whole national action. Actual alterations of interest in the makeup of our national life, actual, unmistakable changes in our national consciousness, actual modifications in our national activities such as give a new aspect and significance to the well-known purposes of our fundamental law, should of course be taken up into decisions which add to the number of things of which the national Government must take cognizance and regulative control. That is a function of insight and intelligence. The courage it calls for on the part of the courts is the courage of conviction. But they are, on the other hand, called on to display the more noble courage which defends ancient conviction and established principle against the clamor, the class interests and the changeful moods of parties. They should never permit themselves wilfully to seek to find in the phrases of the Constitution remedies for evils which the Federal Government was never intended to deal with.

Moral and social questions originally left to the several States for settlement can be drawn into the field of Federal authority only at the expense of the self-dependence and efficiency of the several communities of which our complex body politic is made up. Paternal morals, morals enforced by the judgment and choices of the central authority at Washington, do not and cannot create vital habits or methods of life unless sustained by local opinion and purpose, local prejudices and con-

venience,—unless supported by local convenience and interest; and only communities capable of taking care of themselves will, taken together, constitute a nation capable of vital action and control. You cannot atrophy the parts without atrophying the whole. Deliberate adding to the powers of the Federal Government by sheer judicial authority, because the Supreme Court can no longer be withstood or contradicted in the States, both saps the legal morality upon which a sound constitutional system must rest and deprives the Federal structure as a whole of the vitality which has given the Supreme Court itself its increase of power. It is the alchemy of decay.

It would certainly mean that we had acquired a new political temper, never hitherto characteristic of us, that we had utterly lost confidence in what we set out to do, were we now to substitute abolition for reform,—were we by degrees to do away with our boasted system of self-government out of mere impatience and disgust, like those who got rid of an instrument they no longer knew how to use. There are some hopeful signs that we may be about to return to the better way of a time when we knew how to restrict government and adapt it to our uses in accordance with principles we did not doubt, but adhered to with an ardent fervor which was the best evidence of youth and virility. We have long been painfully conscious that we have failed in the matter of city government. It is an age of cities, and if we cannot govern our cities we cannot govern at all. For a little while we acted as if in despair. We began to strip our city governments of their powers and to transfer them to State commissions or back to the Legislatures of the States, very much as we are now stripping the States of their powers and putting them in the hands of Federal commissions. The attempt was made to put the police departments of some of our cities, for example, in the hands of State officers, and to put the granting of city franchises back into the hands of the central Legislature of the State, in the hope, apparently,

that a uniform regulation of such things by the opinion of the whole State might take the place of corrupt control by city politicians. But it did not take us long, fortunately, to see that we were moving in the wrong direction. We have now turned to the better way of reconsidering the whole question of the organization of city governments, and are likely within a generation to purify them by simplifying them, to moralize them by placing their government in the hands of a few persons who can really be selected by popular preference instead of by the private processes of nomination by party managers, and who, because few and conspicuous, can really be watched and held to a responsibility which they will honor because they cannot escape.

It is to be hoped that we shall presently have the same light dawn upon us with regard to our State governments, and, instead of upsetting an ancient system, hallowed by long use and deep devotion, revitalize it by reorganization. And that, not only because it is an old system long beloved, but also because we are certified by all political history of the fact that centralization is not vitalization. Moralization is by life, not by statute, by the interior impulse and experience of communities, not by fostering legislation which is merely the abstraction of an experience which may belong to a nation as a whole or to many parts of it without having yet touched the thought of the rest anywhere to the quick. The object of our Federal system is to bring the understandings of constitutional government home to the people of every part of the nation, to make them part of their consciousness as they go about their daily tasks. If we cannot successfully effect its adjustments by the nice local adaptations of our older practice, we have failed as constitutional statesmen.

THE BANKER AND THE NATION

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF
THE AMERICAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION AT DENVER,
COLORADO, SEPTEMBER 30, 1908. FROM THE "CON-
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MR. PRESIDENT, ladies, and gentlemen: We have witnessed in recent years an extraordinary awakening of the public conscience with regard to the methods of modern business, and of the private conscience also, for scores of business men have become conscious, as they never were before, that the eager push and ambition and competition of modern business had hurried them, oftentimes unconsciously, into practices which they had not stopped, in the heat of the struggle, to question, but which they now see to have been immoral and against the public interest. Sometimes the process of their demoralization was very subtle, very gradual, very obscure and therefore hidden from their consciences. Sometimes it was crude and obvious enough, but they did not stop to be careful, thinking of their rivals and not of their morals. But now the moral and political aspects of the whole matter are laid bare to their own view as well as to the view of the world, and we have run out of quiet waters into a very cyclone of reform. No man is so poor as not to have his policies for everything. The whole structure of society is being critically looked over, and changes of the most radical character are being soberly discussed, which it would take generations to perfect, but which we are hopefully thinking of putting out to contract to be fin-

ished by a specified date well within the limits of our own time.

It is not my purpose on the present occasion to discuss particular policies and proposals. I wish, rather, to call your attention to some of the large aspects of the matter, which we should carefully consider before we make up our minds which way we should go and with what purpose we should act.

What strikes one most forcibly in the recent agitations of public opinion is the anatomy of our present economic structure which they seem to disclose. Sharp class contrasts and divisions have been laid bare—not class distinctions in the old world or the old-time sense, but sharp distinctions of power and opportunity quite as significant. For the first time in the history of America there is a general feeling that issue is now joined, or about to be joined, between the power of accumulated capital and the privileges and opportunities of the masses of the people. The power of accumulated capital is now, as at all other times and in all other circumstances, in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, but there is a very widespread impression that those persons have been able in recent years as never before to control the national development in their own interest. The contest is sometimes said to be between capital and labor, but that is too narrow and too special a conception of it. It is, rather, between capital in all its larger accumulations and all other less concentrated, more dispersed, smaller, and more individual economic forces; and every new policy proposed has as its immediate or ultimate object the restraint of the power of accumulated capital for the protection and benefit of those who cannot command its use.

This anatomizing of our social structure, this pulling it to pieces and scrutinizing each part of it separately, as if it had an independent existence and interest and could live not only separately but in contrast and contest with its other parts, as if it had no organic union with them

or dependence upon them, is a very dangerous and unwholesome thing at best; but there are periods of excitement and inquiry when it is inevitable, and we should make the best of it, if only to hasten the process of reintegration. This process of segregation and contrast is always a symptom of deep discontent. It is not set afoot accidentally. It generally comes about, as it has come about now, because the several parts of society have forgotten their organic connections, their vital interdependence, and have become individually selfish or hostile—because the attention of a physician is in fact necessary. It has given occasion to that extensive and radical programme of reform which we call socialism and with which so many hopeful minds are now in love. We shall be able to understand our present confused affairs thoroughly and handle them wisely only when we have made clear to ourselves how his situation arose, how this programme was provoked, and what we individually and collectively have to do with it.

The abstract principles of socialism it is not difficult to admire. They are, indeed, hardly distinguishable from the abstract principles of Democracy. The object of the thoughtful Socialist is to effect such an organization of society as will give the individual his best protection and his best opportunity, and yet serve the interest of all rather than the interest of any one in particular; an organization of mutual benefit based upon the principle of the solidarity of all interests. But the programme of socialism is another matter. It is not unfair to say that the programmes of socialism so far put forth are either utterly vague or entirely impracticable. That they are now being taken very seriously and espoused very ardently is evidence, not of their excellence or practicability, but only of the fact, to which no observant man can any longer shut his eyes, that the contesting forces in our modern society have broken its unity and destroyed its organic harmony—not because that was inevitable, but because men have used their

power thoughtlessly and selfishly, and legitimate undertakings have been pushed to illegitimate lengths. There has been an actual process of selfish segregation, and society has so reacted from it that almost any thorough-going programme of reintegration looks hopeful and attractive. Such programme cannot be thrust aside or defeated by mere opposition and denial; it can be overcome only by wiser and better programmes, and these it is our duty as patriotic citizens to find.

The most striking fact about the actual organization of modern society is that the most conspicuous, the most readily wielded, and the most formidable power is not the power of government, but the power of capital. Men of our day in England and America have almost forgotten what it is to fear the Government, but have found out what it is to fear the power of capital, to watch it with jealousy and suspicion, and trace to it the source of every open or hidden wrong. Our memories are not of history, but of what our own lives and experiences and the lives and experiences of the men about us have disclosed. We have had no experience in our day, or in the days of which our fathers have told us, of the tyranny of governments, of their minute control and arrogant interference and arbitrary regulation of our business and of our daily life, though it may be that we shall know something of it in the near future. We have forgotten what the power of government means and have found out what the power of capital means; and so we do not fear government and are not jealous of political power. We fear capital and are jealous of its domination. There will be need of many cool heads and much excellent judgment amongst us to curb this new power without throwing ourselves back into the gulf of the old from which we were the first of the nations of the world to find a practicable way of escape.

The only forces that can save us from the one extreme or the other are those forces of social reunion and social reintegration which every man of station and character

and influence in the country can in some degree and within the scope of his own life set afoot. We must open our minds wide to the new circumstances of our time, must bring about a new common understanding and effect a new coördination in the affairs which most concern us. Capital must give over its too great preoccupation with the business of making those who control it individually rich and must study to serve the interests of the people as a whole. It must draw near to the people and serve them in some intimate way of which they will be conscious. Voluntary coöperation must forestall the involuntary coöperation which legislators will otherwise seek to bring about by the coercion of law. Capital now looks to the people like a force and interest apart, with which they must deal as with a master and not as with a friend. Those who handle capital in the great industrial enterprises of the country know how mistaken this attitude is. They see how intimately the general welfare and the common interest are connected with every really sound process of business, and how all antagonisms and misunderstandings hamper and disorganize industry. But no one can now mistake the fact and no one knows better than the manipulators of capital how many circumstances there are to justify the impression. We can never excuse ourselves from the necessity of dealing with facts.

I am sure that many bankers must have become acutely and sensitively aware of the fact that the most isolated and the most criticized interest of all is banking. The banks are, in the general view and estimation, the special and exclusive instrumentalities of capital used on a large scale. They stand remote from the laborer and the body of the people, and put whatever comes into their coffers at the disposal of the captains of industry, the great masters of finance, the corporations which are in the way to crush all competitors.

I shall not now stop to ask how far this view of the banks is true. I need not tell you that in large part it

is false. I know that the close connection of the banks with the larger operations of commerce and finance is natural and not illicit, and that the banks turn very cheerfully and very cordially to the smaller pieces of business. Time was when the banks never advertised, never condescended to solicit business; now they eagerly seek it in small pieces as well as big. The banks are in fact and in spirit at the service of every man to the limit of his known trustworthiness and credit, and they know very well that there is profit in multiplying small accounts and small loans. But, on the other hand, they are in fact singularly remote from the laborer and the body of the people. They are particularly remote from the farmer and the small trader of our extensive countryside.

Let me illustrate what I mean. Roughly speaking, every town of any size and importance in the United States has its bank. But the large majority of our people live remote from banks, are unknown to the officers who manage them and dispense their credit. Moreover, our system of banking is such that local banks must for the most part be organized and maintained by local capital and have at their disposal only local resources. It is difficult for those of you who do not travel leisurely in the vast rural districts of this country to realize how few and far between the banks are, or how local and petty, and without extensive power to help the community most of them are when you find them. A friend of mine rode through seven counties of one of the oldest of our States before finding any place where he could change a \$20 bill; and I myself was obliged one summer, in a thriving agricultural district, to get change for bills of any considerable denomination sent to me by express from banks 50 miles distant. The business of the country was done largely by barter. I do not wonder that the men thereabout thought that the money of the country was being hoarded somewhere, presumably in Wall Street. None of it was

accessible to them, though they by no means lacked in this world's goods. They believed in the free coinage of silver, not realizing that the silver, too, would have to be handled by the banks and would be equally inaccessible. It would not have been shipped like ordinary merchandise.

"Where and whose is the money of the country?" is the question which the average voter wants his political representative to answer for him. Bankers can answer the question, but I have met very few of them who could answer it in a way the ordinary man could understand. Bankers, as a body of experts in a particular, very responsible business, hold, and hold very clearly, certain economic facts and industrial circumstances in mind, and possess a large and unusually interesting mass of specialized knowledge of which they are masters in an extraordinary degree. But I trust you will not think me impertinent if I say that they excuse themselves from knowing a great many things which it would manifestly be to their interest to know, and that they are oftentimes singularly ignorant, or at any rate singularly indifferent, about what I may call the social functions and the political functions of banking, particularly in a country governed by opinion. I am not here to advocate the establishment of branch banks or argue in favor of anything which you understand better than I do. But I have this to say, and to say with great confidence: That if a system of branch banks, very simply and inexpensively managed and not necessarily open every day in the week, could be organized, which would put the resources of the rich banks of the country at the disposal of whole countrysides to whose merchants and farmers only a restricted and local credit is now open, the attitude of plain men everywhere towards the banks and banking would be changed utterly within less than a generation. You know that you are looking out for investments; that even the colossal enterprises of our time do not supply you with safe investments enough for the

money that comes in to you ; and that banks here, there, and everywhere are tempted, as a consequence, to place money in speculative enterprises, and even themselves to promote questionable ventures in finance at a fearful and wholly unjustifiable risk in order to get the usury they wish from their resources. You sit only where these things are spoken of and big returns coveted. There would be plenty of investments if you carried your money to the people of the country at large and had agents in hundreds of villages who knew the men in their neighborhoods who could be trusted with loans and who would make profitable use of them. Your money, moreover, would quicken and fertilize the country, and that other result would follow which I think you will agree with me is not least important in my argument: The average voter would learn that the money of the country was not being hoarded; that it was at the disposal of any honest man who could use it; and that to strike at the banks was to strike at the general convenience and the general prosperity. I do not know what the arguments against branch banks are; but these I know from observation to be the arguments for them, and very weighty arguments they seem to me to be.

That, however, need not concern me. I am not so much interested in argument as in illustration. My theme is this: Bankers, like men of every other interest, have their lot and part in the Nation—their social function and their political duty. We have come upon a time of crisis when it is made to appear, and is in part true, that interest is arrayed against interest; and it is our duty to turn the war into peace. It is the duty of the banker, as it is the duty of men of every other class, to see to it that there be in his calling no class spirit, no feeling of antagonism to the people, to plain men whom the bankers, to their great loss and detriment, do not know. It is their duty to be intelligent, thoughtful, patriotic intermediaries between capital and the people

at large; to understand and serve the general interest; to be public men serving the country as well as private men serving their depositors and the enterprises whose securities and notes they hold. How capital is to draw near to the people and serve them at once obviously and safely is the question, the great and now pressing question, which it is the particular duty of the banker to answer. No one else can answer it so intelligently; and if he does not answer it others will, it may be to his detriment and to the general embarrassment of the country. The occasion and the responsibility are yours.

We live in a very interesting time of awakening, in a period of reconstruction and readjustment, when everything is being questioned and even old foundations are threatened with change. But it is not a time of danger if we do not lose our heads and ignore our consciences. It is, on the contrary, a time of extraordinary privilege and opportunity when men of every class have begun to think upon the themes of the public welfare as they never thought before. I feel that I have only to speak of your social duty and political function to meet with a very instant and effectual response out of your own thoughts and purposes. I think that you will agree with me that our responsibility in a democratic country is not only for what we do and for the way and spirit in which we do it, but also for the impression we make. We are bound to make the right impression and to contribute by our action not only to the general prosperity and well-being of the country, but also to its general instruction, so that men of different classes can understand each other, can serve each other with intelligence and energy. There is a sense in which a democratic country statesmanship is forced upon every man of initiative, every man capable of leading anybody; and this I believe to be the particular period when statesmanship is forced upon bankers and upon all those who have to do with the application and use of the vast accumulated wealth of this country. We should, for example, not only seek

the best solution for our currency difficulties, not only the safest and most scientific system of elastic currency to meet the convenience of a country in which the amount of cash needed at different times fluctuates enormously and violently, but we should also seek to give the discussions of such matters such publicity and such general currency and such simplicity as will enable men of every kind and calling to understand what we are talking about and take an intelligent part in the discussion. We cannot shut ourselves in as experts to our own business. We must open our thoughts to the country at large and serve the general intelligence as well as the general welfare.

ROBERT E. LEE: AN INTERPRETATION

DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ROBERT E. LEE, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, JANUARY 19, 1909, AND NOW REPRINTED FROM THE BOOK ENTITLED "ROBERT E. LEE," BY WOODROW WILSON, PUBLISHED IN 1924 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS.

IN one sense, it is a superfluous thing to speak of General Lee,—he does not need the eulogy of any man. His fame is not enhanced, his memory is not lifted to any new place of distinction by any man's word of praise, for he is secure of his place. It is not necessary to recount his achievements; they are in the memory not only of every soldier, but of every lover of high and gifted men who likes to see achievements which proceed from character, to see those things done which are not done with the selfish purpose of self-aggrandizement, but in order to serve a country, and prove worthy of a cause. These are the things which make the name of this great man prominent not only, but in some regards unapproachable in the history of our country.

I happened the other day to open a book not printed in this part of the country, the *Century Cyclopædia of Names*, and to turn to the name of Lee, and I was very much interested, and I must say a little touched, by the simple characterization it gave of the man: "A celebrated American general in the Confederate service." How perfectly that sums the thing up,—a celebrated American general, a national character who won his chief celebrity in the service of a section of the country,

but who was not sectionalized by the service, is recognized now as a national hero; who was not rendered the less great because he bent his energies towards a purpose which many men conceived not to be national in its end.

I think this speaks something for the healing process of time. I think it says something for the age, that it should have taken so short a time for the whole nation to see the true measure of this man, and it takes me back to my own feeling about one's necessary connection with the region in which he was born.

There is an interesting and homely story of Daniel Webster, how after one very tedious and laborious session of the Senate he returned to his home in Boston quite worn out and told his servant that he was going upstairs to lie down, and must not be disturbed on any account. He had hardly reached his room when some gentlemen from the little village in New Hampshire which had been his original boyhood home, called at the door and said they must see him,—that a man's life was involved. They had come down as the neighbours of a lad in his old home, charged, as they believed falsely, with murder. They believed in the lad but were confounded by circumstantial evidence; and they thought that there was only one man in the United States who could unravel the tangle of misleading indications; and they had come to see Mr. Webster. The servant was afraid to call him but yielded to their urgency, and he came down in no pleasant humour. To all their appeals he replied, "Gentlemen, it is impossible; I am worn out. I am not fit for the service, and cannot go." Seeing at last that it was probably hopeless, the spokesman of the little company at last rose and said, "Well, I don't know what the neighbours will say." "Oh! well," said Webster, "if it is the neighbours, I will go!" There came to his mind the vision of some little groups of old men in that village where he had lived as a boy whose comments he could surmise, and that was the particular condemnation he could not face.

So all great patriots have had a deep local rootage. You can love a country if you begin by loving a community, but you cannot love a country if you do not have the true rootages of intimate affection which are the real sources of all that is strongest in human life. So this "celebrated American general" had his necessary local rootages, and the sap of his manhood united him with the soil on which he was bred. It was there he won his celebrity and made secure his fame. I think one of the most interesting things to remember about Lee is that he was an ideal combination of what a man inherits and what he may make of himself.

General Lee came of a distinguished family. His father, Light Horse Harry Lee, was of the finest breed of those gallant soldiers who made the country free; and the lad in his boyhood must have been bred to many memories of high deeds and to many fine conceptions of patriotic service at the hearth where his father sat.

I like to think, for my part, that Light Horse Harry Lee was bred under the teaching of Doctor John Witherspoon, the great Scotchman who at that day presided over the college at Princeton, and that there is some sort of Princetonian lineage in the man whom we honor now.

But these soldierly traditions, this impulse from a great father, were not what made Robert E. Lee. After all, what makes and distinguishes a man is not that he is derived from any family or from any training, but that he has discovered for himself the true rôle of manhood in his own day. No man gains distinction who does not make some gift of his own individuality to the thing that he does,—to the generation which he serves.

This man was not great because he was born of a soldier and bred in a school of soldiers, but because, of whomsoever he may have been born, howsoever he was bred, he was a man who saw his duty, who con-

ceived it in high terms, and who spent himself, not upon his own ambitions, but in the duty that lay before him. We like to remember all the splendid family traditions of the Lees, but we like most of all to remember that this man was greater than all the traditions of his family; that there was a culmination here that could not have been reached by the mere drift of what men remember, but must be reached by what men originate and conceive.

I am not going to try to outline the career of Lee, because I feel the compulsion of that last characteristic of General Lee. I do not want to live, and I do not wish to ask you to live on the memory of what General Lee did. I want to remind you of how General Lee turned immediately from war, when it was past, to the future which was to come, and said, "I will do my part in trying to make the young men of this country ready for the things which are yet to be done."

We are not at liberty to walk with our eyes over our shoulders, recalling the things which were done in the past; we are bound in conscience to march with our eyes forward, with the accents of such men in our ears saying, "We lived not as you must live. We lived for our generation; we tried to do its tasks. Turn your faces and your hands likewise to the tasks that you have to do." We would not be honouring General Lee if we did not think of him only enough to remind ourselves of what we have to do to be like him. The true eulogy of General Lee is a life which is meant to be patterned after his standards of duty and of achievement. And so I am not going to ask you to-night to look back at General Lee, but, rather to answer the question—"What does General Lee mean to us?"

It is a notable thing that we see when we look back to men of this sort. The Civil War is something which we cannot even yet uncover in memory without stirring embers which may spring into a blaze. There was deep

colour and the ardour of blood in that contest. The field is lurid with the light of passion, and yet in the midst of that crimson field stands this gentle figure,—a man whom you remember, not as a man who loved war, but as a man moved by all the high impulses of gentle kindness, a man whom men did not fear, but loved; a man in whom everybody who approached him marked singular gentleness, singular sweetness, singular modesty,—none of the pomp of the soldier, but all the simplicity of the gentleman. This man is in the centre of that crimson field, is the central figure of a great tragedy. A singular tragedy it seems which centres in a gentleman who loved his fellow-men and sought to serve them by the power of love, and who yet, in serving them with the power of love, won the imperishable fame of a great soldier! A singular contradiction!

It is true that we do not think entirely correctly of Lee in supposing that he was compact entirely of gentleness. No man whom you deeply care for or look to for leadership is made up altogether of gentle qualities. When you come into the presence of a leader of men you know you have come into the presence of fire,—that it is best not incautiously to touch that man,—that there is something that makes it dangerous to cross him, that if you grapple his mind you will find that you have grappled with flame and fire. You do not want sweetness merely and light in men who lead you; and there was just as much fire in Lee as there was in Washington. In Washington it was more truly present. Every man who approached Washington had the singular impression that he was in the presence of a man of tremendous passions. He was always well in hand; but you knew that the man himself was aware that he was driving a mettlesome team, which he had to watch at every moment to avoid sudden runaway, when circumstances were exigent or exciting.

You did not get that impression when in the presence of Lee. I have only the delightful memory of standing,

when a lad, for a moment by General Lee's side and looking up into his face, so that I have nothing but a child's memory of the man; but those who saw him when they were men and could judge say that you got no impression of constrained and governed passion such as men got from General Washington. But whenever General Lee was in the field no one dared cross him, no one dared neglect his orders, no one dared exercise a dangerous discretion in the carrying out of his commands. There would flare in the man a consuming fire of anger; those who were in his presence felt it was dangerous so much as to breathe naturally until it was past. There was something of the tiger in this man when his purpose was aroused and in action. It would immediately recede; quiet gentleness would come again, that perfect poise, that delightful sense of ease as he moved from one purpose to another; but you would not forget that moment of exposed fire,—you would know that you had been in the presence of consuming force.

But what strikes me as most interesting in the example of General Lee is that this was not in one sense of the word personal force at all. Touch General Lee about himself and you never saw the flash of fire, but touch him about things he regarded as his duty, and you saw it instantly. So the force that presided in him was no other than that moral force which may be said to be a principle in action. There is a sense, I sometimes think, in which every one of us in whose life principle forms a part is merely holding up a light which he himself did not kindle, not his own principle, not something peculiar and individual to himself, but that light which must light all mankind, the love of truth, the love of duty, the love of those things which are not stated in the terms of personal interest. That is the force and that the fire that moulds men or else consumes them.

You need not be afraid of the fire that is in selfish passion, you can crush that; but you cannot crush the

fire that is in unselfish passion. You know that there you are in the presence of the greatest force in the world, the only force that lifts men or nations to greatness, or purifies communities; and that is the consuming fire which we dare not touch. I apply this thought sometimes to existing circumstances. I grow tired often, as I tire of any futility, of hearing certain abuses condemned and not having the condemnation followed by a list of the names of the persons who are guilty of them; for there is not a group of men in this country who could stand the heat of the fire that would scorch those names. You cannot scorch the abuse, but you can consume men by merely exposing them to this moral fire, which they know is the fire of their death; and that is the sort of force that burned in General Lee. All his life through you are aware of a conscious self-subordination to principles which lay outside of his personal life.

I have sometimes noted with a great deal of interest how careless we are about most words in our language, and yet how careful we are about some others; for example, there is one word which we do not use carelessly and that is the word "noble." We use the word "great" indiscriminately. A man is great because he has had great material success and has piled up a fortune; a man is great because he is a great writer, or a great orator; a man is great because he is a great hero. We notice in him some distinct quality that overtops like qualities in other men. But we reserve the word "noble" carefully for those whose greatness is not spent in their own interest. A man must have a margin of energy which he does not spend upon himself in order to win this title of nobility. He is noble in our popular conception only when he goes outside the narrow circle of self-interest, and begins to spend himself for the interest of mankind. Then, however humble his gifts, however undistinguished his intellectual force, we give

him this title of nobility, and admit him into the high peerage of men who will not be forgotten.

Now that was the characteristic of General Lee's life. It was not only moral force, but it was moral force conscientiously guided by interests which were not his own. You do not need to have me illustrate that. It was manifestly not to General Lee's personal interest to take command of the armies of the South. He could have taken command of the armies of the North; and, in spite of the noble quality of the Southern struggle, every man now sees that the forces of the world were sure to crush the self-assertion of the South; and General Lee knew enough of the force of the world, had been schooled enough in national armies to know upon which side the probability of material power lay and therefore the probability of success in arms. He knew that the South would be weak in that it could not count on the support of the world, and the North could. A man seeking his own aggrandizement would not have chosen as General Lee did. But he did not choose with any, even momentary regard for his personal fortune. He sacrificed himself for the things that were nearest, the things I have illustrated in the homely anecdote about Webster. He thought of the neighbours; he knew that a man's nearest attachments are his best attachments, and his nearest duties his imperative duties. He had been born in Virginia, he was Virginia's. Virginia could do with him as she pleased. And wherever that spirit obtains, wherever men can be found in the State of North Carolina, or in any other State, who conscientiously live upon this principle, that they belong to North Carolina, that they belong to their people and to their State and must see to it that they yield themselves to the needs and commands of their people and do the things that are necessary to be done for their welfare, those are the men who, if they do not look merely to their own fame, will sometime be written upon the

roll of honour of the local and national history of this country.

So that there is brought to the surface in General Lee, as it were, the consummate fire of a democratic nation, the perfect product of a common conscience and a common consciousness expressing itself in an instrument excellently suitable because of its own fine quality. You may use a clumsy instrument for the right purpose, but it is better to use a perfect instrument, and this man was like the finest steel adapting himself to the nicest strokes of precision and yet incapable of being snapped or broken by any impact. He was a perfect instrument for a thing which we too little think of.

I do not believe in a democratic form of government because I think it the best form of government. It is the clumsiest form of government in the world. If you wanted to make a merely effective government you would make it of fewer persons. If you wanted to invent a government that would act with speed and quick force, you would be doing a clumsy thing to make it democratic in structure. That is not purposed to be the best form, but to have the best sources.

Did you ever think how the world managed politically to get through the Middle Ages? It got through them without breakdown because it had the Roman Catholic Church to draw upon for native gifts, and by no other means that I can see. If you will look at the politics of the Middle Ages you will see that states depended for their guidance upon great ecclesiastics, and they depended upon them because the community itself was in strata, was in classes, and the Roman Catholic Church was a great democracy. Any peasant could become a priest, and any priest a chancellor. And this reservoir of democratic power and native ability was what brought the Middle Ages through their politics. If they had not had a democratic supply of capacity they could not have conducted a sterile aristocratic polity. An aristocratic polity goes to seed. The establishment of a

democratic nation means that any man in it may, if he consecrate himself and use himself in the right way, come to be the recognized instrument of a whole nation. It is an incomparably resourceful arrangement, though it is not the best practical organization of government.

In a man like General Lee you see a common consciousness made manifest; and this singular thing revealed, that by a root which seems to be a root of failure a man may be lifted to be the model of a whole nation. For it is not an exaggeration to say that in all parts of this country the manhood and the self-forgetfulness and the achievements of General Lee are a conscious model to men who would be morally great. This man who chose the course which eventually led to practical failure is one of the models of the times. "A nation," Browning says, "is but the attempt of many to rise to the completer life of one; and those who live as the models for the mass are singly of more value than they all."

The moral force of a country like America lies in the fact that every man has it within his choice to express the nation in himself. I am interested in historical examples as a mere historian. I was guilty myself of the indiscretion of writing a history, but I will tell you frankly, if you will not let it go further, that I wrote it, not to instruct anybody else, but to instruct myself. I wrote the history of the United States in order to learn it. That may be an expensive process for other persons who bought the book, but I lived in the United States and my interest in learning their history was, not to remember what happened, but to find which way we were going.

I remember a traveller telling me of being on a road in Scotland and asking a man breaking stone by the roadside if this was the road to so and so; the man said, "Where did you come from"; he answered "I don't know whether it is any of your business where I came from." "Weel," said the man, "it's as muckle as

whaur ye're ganging tae." There is a great deal of philosophy in that question asked by the roadside. If I am near a crossroad and ask if this is the road to so and so, it is a pertinent question to ask me where I came from.

We often speak of a man as having "lost himself," in a desert for example. Did you never reflect that that is the only thing he has not lost,—himself? He is there. The danger of the situation is that he has lost all the rest of the world. He doesn't know where the North is, or the South, or the East, or the West,—has lost every point of the compass. The only way by which he can start is to get some fixed and known point by which he can determine his direction. A nation that does not know its history and heed its history has lost itself. Unless you know where you came from you do not know where you are going to.

I am told by psychologists that if I did not remember who I was yesterday I would not know who I am to-day. Now the same is true of a nation. A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday does not know what it is to-day, or what it is trying to do. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about.

We have stumbled upon a confusing age; nothing is like it was fifteen years ago,—certainly in the field of economic endeavor, and we are casting about to discover a new world without any standards taken out of an older world by which we can make the comparison.

I was passing through the city of Omaha during the latter stages of the presidential campaign and I bought the morning paper, the *Omaha Bee*, and found in it an interesting article by my friend Mr. Rosewater in which he made capital fun of a quotation about the tariff from Mr. Bryan. I thought there was something odd about the quotation, and it turned out the next morning that Mr. Rosewater, himself a member of the Republican National Committee, had been making fun, not of a

quotation from Bryan, but of a quotation from the Republican platform. Now the point is, that unless you had an experienced nose in that campaign, if you picked up either of the platforms you had to look at the label to see which it was. The reason is that in recent years we have been looking about for expedients and policies and have not been looking about for principles.

If you want me to bid against you for a popular policy I will probably resort to the expedient of matching your bid if I think it is a good one; but if I happen to be restrained by certain knowledge of what happened once before, I may choose differently and by a longer measurement. I may say there are certain things going to happen in this; they are going to happen upon well-known and ancient principles: having read history I would be a fool if I did not know it. I am going to hark back to those fundamental principles which hold good despite changes of policy. I am not going to hark back to old policies, but I shall try to find out whether there is not some new and suitable expression of those old principles in new policies. Although I may not assist my party to win at the next election by such a course, it is sure thereby to win at some election, at which it will give it such distinction that the country will thereafter for a whole generation recognize in it the only safe counsellor it has.

If you want to win at an election which occurs tomorrow probably you haven't time to remind your fellow-countrymen of the abiding principles upon which they should act; but if you form the habit of basing your advice upon definite principles you will presently gain a permanent following such as you could not possibly have gained upon any bidding for popularity by mere expedients.

I want to say that the lesson of General Lee's life to me is that it is not the immediate future that should be the basis of the statesman's calculation. If you had

been in Lee's position, what would have been your calculation of expediency? Here was a great national power, material and spiritual, in the North. In the Northwest there had grown up by a slow process, as irresistible as the glacial movement, a great national feeling, a feeling in which was quite obliterated and lost the old idea of the separate sovereignty of states. In the South there had been a steadfast maintenance of the older conception of the union. What in such a case would you have said to your countrymen? "It will be most proper, as it will certainly be most expedient, for you to give in to the majority, and vote for the Northern conception?" Not at all. If you had been of Lee's kind you would have known that men's consciences, men's habits of thought, lie deeper than that, and you would have said: "No; this is not a time to talk about majorities; this is a time to express convictions; and if her conviction is not expressed by the South in terms of blood she will lose her character. These are her convictions, and if she yield them out of expediency she will have proved herself of the soft fibre of those who do not care to suffer for what they profess to love." Even a man who saw the end from the beginning should, in my conception as a Southerner, have voted for spending his people's blood and his own, rather than pursue the weak course of expediency. There is here no mere device, no regard to the immediate future. What has been the result?—ask yourself that. It has been that the South has retained her best asset, her self-respect.

Let that great case serve as an example. Are you going into political campaigns of a less fundamental character on the ground of expediency, or are you going in on the ground of your real opinions and ultimate self-respect?

For my part, if I did not, after saturating myself in the conceptions upon which this government was formed, express my knowledge of those principles and

my belief in them by the way I voted, I would lose my self-respect; and I would not care to have anybody's company in the poor practice. What this country needs now in the field of politics is principle; not measures of expediency, but principle,—principles expressed in terms of the present circumstances, but principles nevertheless. And principles do not spring up in a night; principles are not new, principles are ancient.

There is one lesson that the peoples of the world have learned so often that they ought to esteem themselves contemptible if they have to learn it again, and that is that if you concentrate the management of a people's affairs in a single central government and carry that concentration beyond a certain point of oversight and regulation, you will certainly provoke again those revolutionary processes by which individual liberty was asserted. We have had so little excess of government in this country that we have forgotten that excess of government is the very antithesis of liberty. So it seems to me that the principle by which we should be guided above all others is this, that we do not want to harness men like Lee in the service of a managing government; we want to see to it that, though there is control, it is control of law and not the discretionary control of executive officials. We want to see to it that while there is the restraint of abuses, it is persons who are restrained, and not unnamed bodies of persons. There is only, historically speaking, one possible successful punishment of abuses of law, and that is, that when a wrong thing is done you find the man who did it and punish him. You can fine all the corporations there are, and fine them out of existence, and all you will have done will be to have embarrassed the commerce of the country. You will have left the men who did it free to repeat it in other combinations.

I am going to use an illustration which you can easily understand, but I am going to ask you not to misunderstand it. Suppose I could incorporate an association of

burglars with the assurance that you would restrain their actions, not as individuals, but only as a corporation. Whenever a burglary occurred you would fine the corporation. They would be very much pleased with that arrangement, because it would leave them the service of their most accomplished burglars, who could fool you half the time and not be found out. Such a corporation would be willing to pay you a heavy fine for the privilege. Now I do not mean to draw a parallel between our great corporations and burglars,—that is where you are likely to misunderstand me, because I do not hold the general belief that the majority of the business men of this country are burglars; I believe, on the contrary, that the number of malicious men engaged in corporations in this country is very small. But that small number is singularly gifted, and until you have picked them out and distinguished them for punishment you have not touched the process by which they succeed in doing what they wish. You may say that this is a very difficult thing, that there is so much covert, so much undergrowth, the nation is so thickset with organizations that you cannot see them and run them to cover.

Perhaps you are right; but that does not make any difference to my argument; whether difficult, or not, it has got to be done. If you don't know enough to do it, it is none the less necessary to find the way.

What have we been doing in the last fifteen years? Trying to remedy things which we have not stopped long enough to understand.

I was talking the other day to a body of men which included a good many persons belonging to the profession to which I used to belong. I used to be a lawyer. I said to these men: "I am sure there are a great many corporation lawyers in this audience and I have something to say to them. You know exactly what is being done that ought not to be done. You complain that the legislators of this country are playing havoc with the industry of the country by trying to remedy things

in the wrong way. Now, if you really want to save the corporations, you will tell the legislators you complain of what ought to be done and how. If you do not, they will continue their experiments and destroy your corporations, but having said that to you I must add that I don't expect you to have sense enough to do anything of the kind."

There is a hopeless sort of fidelity in men who are employed as advisers that prevents their seeing the coming of the deluge; and yet it is they who are to blame if it comes. If you and I had this difficult task in hand of regulating the corporations, whom would we call into counsel? The men who had handled the business. And yet they are the very men who will not yield us any service in the matter at all. They are the very men who are neglecting this great example we are recalling to-night. They are acting upon lines of self-interest, closing in the lines of self-interest as about themselves, and about those whom they represent, and forgetting those greater interests which, if they forget, they oppose,—the interests of the nation and of our common life. And so hostility has sprung up where there should be coöperation, and blunders are committed because men who know how the thing ought to be done will not give public counsel.

We must stop long enough to know what we are about and then go fearlessly forward and do it against the guilty individuals.

I think if I had an independent fortune, and could give up my present profession, I could find a delightful occupation. I would take up my residence in the city of Washington and would industriously find out from the central bureaus of inquiry what was going on in the larger business world of the United States. Then I would prepare one or two addresses upon the knowledge which I had gained and would make a careful list of the names of the gentlemen who had been doing the things that ought not to be done. They could not do me any

harm physically, and I would enjoy the opinion they would have of me. If I could once get their names I would not need the assistance of the criminal law; I would only have to publish the names and prove the facts to put them out of business. Because the moral judgments of this country are as sound as they ever were, and if you direct them in the right channels they are irresistibly effective. At present we are directing them into oratorical channels and not into legislative or judicial channels.

The channels of legislation, the humdrum daily administration of courts of justice are the effective channels of government, and I would rather have government carried successfully on by such means than hear all the fine speeches that have been uttered by the most gifted speakers. I am not depreciating speakers, because that is part of my own business, and I would not ask you to look with contempt upon the humble vocation which I attempt. But I would look with contempt upon myself if I supposed speaking to be a kind of action.

Now, what does it mean that General Lee is accepted as a national hero? It means simply this delightful thing, that there are no sections in this country any more; that we are a nation and are proud of all the great heroes whom the great processes of our national life have elevated into conspicuous places of fame. I believe that the future lies with all those men who devote themselves to national thinking, who eschew those narrow calculations of self-interest which affect only particular communities and try to conceive of communities as a part of a great national life which must be purified in order that it may be successful. For we may pile up wealth until it exceed all fables of riches in ancient fiction and the nation which possesses it may yet use it to malevolent ends. A poor nation such as the United States was in 1812, for example, if it is in the right, is more formidable to the world than the richest nation in the wrong. For the rich nation in the

wrong destroys the fair work that God has permitted and man has wrought; whereas, the poor nation, with purified purpose, is the stronger. It looks into men's hearts and sees the spirit there; finds some expression of that spirit in life; bears the fine aspect of hope and exhibits in all its purposes the irresistible quality of rectitude. These are the things which make a nation formidable. There is nothing so self-destructive as selfishness, and there is nothing so permanent as the work of hands that are unselfish. You may pile up fortunes and dissolve them, but pile up ideals and they will never be dissolved. A quiet company of gentlemen sitting through a dull summer in the city of Philadelphia worked out for a poor and rural nation an immortal constitution, which has made statesmen all over the world feel confidence in the political future of the race. They knew that human liberty was a feasible basis of government.

There is always danger that certain men thinking only of the material prospects of their section, wishing to get the benefit of the tariff, it may be, or of this thing, or of that, when it comes to the distribution of favors, will write only the history which has been written again and again, whose reiteration has been repeated since the world began; from which no man will draw fresh inspiration; from which no ideal can spring, from which no strength can be drawn. Whereas the nation which denies itself material advantage and seeks those things which are of the spirit works not only for each generation, but for all generations, and works in the permanent and durable stuffs of humanity.

I spoke just now in disparagement of the vocation of the orator. I wish there were some great orator who could go about and make men drunk with this spirit of self-sacrifice. I wish there were some man whose tongue might every day carry abroad the golden accents of that creative age in which we were born a nation; accents which would ring like tones of reassurance

around the whole circle of the globe, so that America might again have the distinction of showing men the way, the certain way. of achievement and of confident hope.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 12, 1909. TAKEN FROM "ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE TRIBUTE OF A CENTURY," PP. 14-30.

MY earliest recollection is of standing at my father's gateway in Augusta, Georgia, when I was four years old, and hearing some one pass and say that Mr. Lincoln was elected and there was to be war. Catching the intense tones of his excited voice, I remember running in to ask my father what it meant. What it meant, you need not be told. What it meant, we shall not here to-day dwell upon. We shall rather turn away from those scenes of struggle and of unhappy fraternal strife, and recall what has happened since to restore our balance, to remind us of the permanent issues of history, to make us single-hearted in our love of America, and united in our purpose for her advancement. We are met here to-day to recall the character and achievements of a man who did not stand for strife, but for peace, and whose glory it was to win the affection alike of those whom he led and of those whom he opposed, as indeed a man and a king among those who mean the right.

It is not necessary that I should rehearse for you the life of Abraham Lincoln. It has been written in every school book. It has been rehearsed in every family. It were to impeach your intelligence if I were to tell you the story of his life. I would rather attempt to expound for you the meaning of his life, the significance of his singular and unique career.

It is a very long century that separates us from the year of his birth. The nineteenth century was crowded with many significant events,—it seems to us in America as if it were more crowded with significant events for us than for any other nation in the world,—and that far year 1809 stands very near its opening, when men were only beginning to understand what was in store for them. It was a significant century, not only in the field of politics but in the field of thought. Do you realize that modern science is not older than the middle of the last century? Modern science came into the world to revolutionize our thinking and our material enterprises just about the time that Mr. Lincoln was uttering those remarkable debates with Mr. Douglas. The struggle which determined the life of the Union came just at the time when a new issue was joined in the field of thought, and men began to reconstruct their conceptions of the universe and of their relation to nature, and even of their relation to God. There is, I believe, no more significant century in the history of man than the nineteenth century, and its whole sweep is behind us.

That year 1809 produced, as you know, a whole group of men who were to give distinction to its annals in many fields of thought and of endeavor. To mention only some of the great men who were born in 1809: the poet Tennyson was born in that year, our own poet Edgar Allan Poe, the great Sherman, the great Mendelssohn, Chopin, Charles Darwin, William E. Gladstone, and Abraham Lincoln. Merely read that list and you are aware of the singular variety of gifts and purposes represented. Tennyson was, to my thinking, something more than a poet. We are apt to be so beguiled by the music of his verse as to suppose that its charm and power lie in its music; but there is something about the poet which makes him the best interpreter, not only of life, but of national purpose, and there is to be found in Tennyson a great body of inter-

pretation which utters the very voice of Anglo-Saxon liberty. That fine line in which he speaks of how English liberty has "broadened down from precedent to precedent" embodies the noble slowness, the very process and the very certainty, of the forces which made men politically free in the great century in which he wrote. He was a master who saw into the heart of affairs, as well as a great musician who seemed to give them the symphony of sound.

And then there was our own Poe, that exquisite workman in the human language, that exquisite artisan in all the nice effects of speech, the man who dreamed all the odd dreams of the human imagination, and who quickened us with all the singular stories that the mind can invent, and did it all with the nicety and certainty of touch of the consummate artist.

And then there were Chopin and Mendelssohn, whose music constantly rings in our ears and lifts our spirits to new sources of delight. And there was Charles Darwin, with an insight into nature next to Newton's own; and Gladstone, who knew how to rule men by those subtle forces of oratory which shape the history of the world and determine the relations of nations to each other.

And then our Lincoln. When you read that name you are at once aware of something that distinguished it from all the rest. There was in each of those other men some special gift, but not in Lincoln. You cannot pick Lincoln out for any special characteristic. He did not have any one of those peculiar gifts that the other men on this list possessed. He does not seem to belong in a list at all; he seems to stand unique and singular and complete in himself. The name makes the same impression upon the ear that the name of Shakespeare makes, because it is as if he contained a world within himself. And that is the thing which marks the singular stature and nature of this great—and, we would fain believe, typical—American. Because when you

try to describe the character of Lincoln you seem to be trying to describe a great process of nature. Lincoln seems to have been of general human use and not of particular and limited human use. There was no point at which life touched him that he did not speak back to it instantly its meaning. There was no affair that touched him to which he did not give back life, as if he had communicated a spark of fire to kindle it. The man seemed to have, slumbering in him, powers which he did not exert of his own choice, but which woke the moment they were challenged, and for which no challenge was too great or comprehensive.

You know how slow, how almost sluggish the development of the man was. You know how those who consorted with him in his youth noted the very thing of which I speak. They would have told you that Abraham Lincoln was good for nothing in particular; and the singular fact is he *was* good for nothing in particular—he was good for everything in general. He did not narrow and concentrate his power, because it was meant to be diffused as the sun itself. And so he went through his youth like a man who has nothing to do, like a man whose mind is never halted at any point where it becomes serious, to seize upon the particular endeavor or occupation for which it is intended. He went from one sort of partial success to another sort of partial success, or, as his contemporaries would have said, from failure to failure, until—not until he found himself, but until, so to say, affairs found him, and the crisis of a country seemed suddenly to match the universal gift of his nature; until a great nature was summed up, not in any particular business or activity, but in the affairs of a whole country. It was characteristic of the man.

Have you ever looked at some of those singular statues of the great French sculptor Rodin—those pieces of marble in which only some part of a figure is revealed and the rest is left in the hidden lines of the

marble itself; where there emerges the arm and the bust and the eager face, it may be, of a man, but his body disappears in the general bulk of the stone, and the lines fall off vaguely? I have often been made to think, in looking at those statues, of Abraham Lincoln. There was a little disclosed in him, but not all. You feel that he was so far from being exhausted by the demands of his life that more remained unrevealed than was disclosed to our view. The lines run off into infinity and lead the imagination into every great conjecture. We wonder what the man might have done, what he might have been, and we feel that there was more promise in him when he died than when he was born; that the force was so far from being exhausted that it had only begun to display itself in its splendor and perfection. No man can think of the life of Lincoln without feeling that the man was cut off almost at his beginning.

And so it is with every genius of this kind, not singular, but universal, because there were uses to which it was not challenged. You feel that there is no telling what it might have done in days to come, when there would have been new demands made upon its strength and upon its versatility. He is like some great reservoir of living water which you can freely quaff but can never exhaust. There is something absolutely endless about the lines of such a life.

And you will see that that very fact renders it difficult indeed to point out the characteristics of a man like Lincoln. How shall you describe general human nature brought to its finest development?—for such was this man. We say that he was honest: men used to call him "Honest Abe." But honesty is not a quality. Honesty is the manifestation of character. Lincoln was honest because there was nothing small or petty about him, and only smallness and pettiness in a nature can produce dishonesty. Such honesty is a quality of largeness. It is that openness of nature which will not conde-

scend to subterfuge, which is too big to conceal itself. Little men run to cover and deceive you. Big men cannot and will not run to cover, and do not deceive you. Of course, Lincoln was honest. But that was not a peculiar characteristic of him; that is a general description of him. He was not small or mean, and his honesty was not produced by any calculation, but was the genial expression of the great nature that was behind it.

Then we also say of Lincoln that he saw things with his own eyes. And it is very interesting that we can pick out individual men to say that of them. The opposite of the proposition is, that most men see things with other men's eyes. And that is the pity of the whole business of the world. Most men do not see things with their own eyes. If they did they would not be so inconspicuous as they consent to be. What most persons do is to live up to formulas and opinions and believe them, and never give themselves the trouble to ask whether they are true or not; so that there is a great deal of truth in saying that the trouble is, that men believe so many things that are not so, because they have taken them at second hand; they have accepted them in the form they were given to them. They have not reëxamined them. They have not seen the world with their own eyes. But Lincoln saw it with his own eyes. And he not only saw the surface of it, but saw beneath the surface of it; for the characteristic of the seeing eye is that it is a discerning eye, seeing also that which is not caught by the surface; it penetrates to the heart of the subjects it looks upon. Not only did this man look upon life with a discerning eye. If you read of his youth and of his early manhood, it would seem that these were his only and sufficient pleasures. Lincoln seemed to covet nothing from his business except that it would give him leisure enough to do this very thing—to look at other people; to talk about them; to sit by the stove in the evening and discuss politics with them; to talk about all the things that were

going on, to make shrewd, penetrating comments upon them, to speak his penetrating jests.

I had a friend once who said he seriously thought that the business of life was conversation. There is a good deal of Mr. Lincoln's early life which would indicate that he was of the same opinion. He believed that, at any rate, the most attractive business of life was conversation; and conversation, with Lincoln, was an important part of the business of life, because it was conversation which uncovered the meanings of things and illuminated the hidden places where nobody but Lincoln had ever thought of looking.

You remember the very interesting story told about Mr. Lincoln in his early practice as a lawyer. Some business firm at a distance wrote to him and asked him to look into the credit of a certain man who had asked to have credit extended to him by the firm. Mr. Lincoln went around to see the man at his place of business, and reported to this effect: that he had found the man in an office which contained one table and two chairs. "But," he added, "there is a hole in the corner that would bear looking into." That anecdote, slight as it is, is typical of Mr. Lincoln. He sometimes found the character of the man lurking in a hole; and when his speech touched that character it was illuminated; you could not frame otherwise a better characterization. That seemed to be the business of the man's life; to look at things and to comment upon them; and his comment upon them was just as fearless and just as direct as it was shrewd and penetrating.

I know some men can see anything they choose to see, but they won't say anything; who are dried up at the source by that enemy of mankind which we call Caution. God save a free country from cautious men,—men, I mean, cautious for themselves,—for cautious men are men who will not speak the truth if the speaking of it threatens to damage them. Caution is the confidential agent of selfishness.

This man had no caution. He was absolutely direct and fearless. You will say that he had very little worldly goods to lose. He did not allow himself to be encumbered by riches, therefore he could say what he pleased. You know that men who are encumbered by riches are apt to be more silent than others. They have given hostages to fortune, and for them it is very necessary to maintain the *status quo*. Now, Mr. Lincoln was not embarrassed in this way. A change of circumstances would suit him just as well as the permanency of existing circumstances. But I am confident that if Mr. Lincoln had had the gift of making money, he nevertheless would not have restrained his gift for saying things; that he nevertheless would not have ignored the trammels and despised caution and said what he thought. But one interesting thing about Mr. Lincoln is that no matter how shrewd or penetrating his comment, he never seemed to allow a matter to grip him. He seemed so directly in contact with it that he could define things other men could not define; and yet he was detached. He did not look upon it as if he were part of it. And he was constantly salting all the delightful things that he said, with the salt of wit and humour.

I would not trust a saturnine man, but I would trust a wit; because a wit is a man who can detach himself, and not get so buried in the matter he is dealing with as to lose that sure and free movement which a man can have only when he is detached. If a man can comment upon his own misfortunes with a touch of humour, you know that his misfortunes are not going to subdue or kill him. You should try to instill into every distressed friend the inclination to hold himself off at arm's length, and should assure him that, after all, there have been worse cases on record. Mr. Lincoln was not under the impression that his own misfortunes were unique, and he was not under the impression that the misfortunes of his fellow-men were unique or unalter-

able. Therefore he was detached; therefore he was a wit; therefore he told you a story to show that he was not so intense upon a matter that he could not recognize the funny side of it.

Not only that, but Lincoln was a singularly studious man—not studious in the ordinary conventional sense. To be studious in the ordinary, conventional sense, if I may judge by my observation at a university, is to do the things you have to do and not understand them particularly. But to be studious, in the sense in which Mr. Lincoln was studious, is to follow eagerly and fearlessly the curiosity of a mind which will not be satisfied unless it understands. That is a deep studiousness; that is the thing which lays bare the map of life and enables men to understand the circumstances in which they live, as nothing else can do.

And what commends Mr. Lincoln's studiousness to me is that the result of it was he did not have any theories at all. Life is a very complex thing. No theory that I ever heard propounded will match its varied pattern; and the men who are dangerous are the men who are not content with understanding, but go on to propound theories, things which will make a new pattern for society and a new model for the universe. Those are the men who are not to be trusted. Because, although you steer by the North Star, when you have lost the bearings of your compass, you nevertheless must steer in a pathway on the sea,—you are not bound for the North Star. The man who insists upon his theory insists that there is a way to the North Star, and I know, and every one knows, that there is not—at least none yet discovered. Lincoln was one of those delightful students who do not seek to tie you up in the meshes of any theory.

Such was Mr. Lincoln,—not a singular man; a very normal man, but normal in gigantic proportions,—the whole character of him is on as great a scale—and yet so delightfully informal in the way it was put together

—as was the great frame in which he lived. That great, loose-jointed, angular frame that Mr. Lincoln inhabited was a very fine symbol of the big, loose-jointed, genial, angular nature that was inside; angular, not in the sense of having sharp corners upon which men might wound themselves, but angular as nature is angular. Nature is not symmetrical like the Renaissance architecture. Nature is an architect who does not, in the least, mind putting a very different thing on one side from what it has put on the other. Your average architect wants to balance his windows; to have consistency and balance in the parts. But nature is not interested in that. Nature does what it pleases, and so did the nature of Lincoln. It did what it pleased, and was no more conventionalized and symmetrical than the body of the man himself.

Mr. Lincoln belonged to a type which is fast disappearing, the type of the frontiersman. And he belonged to a process which has almost disappeared from this country. Mr. Lincoln seemed slow in his development, but when you think of the really short span of his life and the distance he traversed in the process of maturing, you will see that it cannot be said to have been a slow process. Mr. Lincoln was bred in that part of the country—*this* part, though we can hardly conceive it now—where States were made as fast as men. Lincoln was made along with the States that were growing as fast as men were. States were born and came to their maturity, in that day, within the legal limit of twenty-one years, and the very pressure of that rapid change, the very imperious necessity of that quick process of maturing, was what made and moulded men with a speed and in a sort which have never since been matched. Here were the processes of civilization and of the building up of politics crowded into a single generation; and where such processes are crowded, men grow. Men could be picked out in the crude, and, if put in that crucible, could be refined out in a single gen-

eration into pure metal. That was the process which made Mr. Lincoln. We could not do it that way again, because that period has passed forever with us.

Mr. Lincoln could not have been born at any other time and he could not have been made in any other way. I took the liberty of saying in New York the other day that it was inconceivable that Mr. Lincoln could have been born in New York. I did not intend thereby any disparagement of New York, but simply to point the moral that he could not have been born in a finished community. He had to be produced in a community that was on the make, in the making. New York is on the make, but it is not in the making.

Mr. Lincoln, in other words, was produced by processes which no longer exist anywhere in America, and therefore we are solemnized by this question: Can we have other Lincolns? We cannot do without them. This country is going to have crisis after crisis. God send they may not be bloody crises, but they will be intense and acute. No body politic so abounding in life and so puzzled by problems as ours is can avoid moving from crisis to crisis. We must have the leadership of sane, genial men of universal use like Lincoln, to save us from mistakes and give us the necessary leadership in such days of struggle and of difficulty. And yet, such men will hereafter have to be produced among us by processes which are not characteristically American, but which belong to the whole world.

There was something essentially native, American, about Lincoln; and there will, no doubt, be something American about every man produced by the processes of America; but no such distinguished process as the process, unique and separate, of that early age can be repeated for us.

It seems to me serviceable, therefore, to ask ourselves what it is that we must reproduce in order not to lose the breed, the splendid breed, of men of this calibre. Mr. Lincoln we describe as "a man of the

people," and he was a man of the people, essentially. But what do we mean by a "man of the people"? We mean a man, of course, who has his rootage deep in the experiences and the consciousness of the ordinary mass of his fellow-men; but we do not mean a man whose rootage is holding him at their level. We mean a man who, drawing his sap from such sources, has, nevertheless, risen above the level of the rest of mankind and has got an outlook over their heads, seeing horizons which they are too submerged to see; a man who finds and draws his inspiration from the common plane, but nevertheless has lifted himself to a new place of outlook and of insight; who has come out from the people and is their leader, not because he speaks from their ranks, but because he speaks for them and for their interests.

Browning has said:

"A Nation is but the attempt of many
To rise to the completer life of one;
And they who live as models for the mass
Are singly of more value than they all."

Lincoln was of the mass, but he was so lifted and big that all men could look upon him, until he became the "model for the mass" and was "singly of more value than they all."

It was in that sense that Lincoln was "a man of the people." His sources were where all the pure springs are, but his streams flowed down into other country and fertilized other plains, where men had become sophisticated with the life of an older age.

A great nation is not led by a man who simply repeats the talk of the street-corners or the opinions of the newspapers. A nation is led by a man who hears more than those things; or who, rather, hearing those things, understands them better, unites them, puts them into a common meaning; speaks, not the rumors of

the street, but a new principle for a new age; a man in whose ears the voices of the nation do not sound like the accidental and discordant notes that come from the voice of a mob, but concurrent and concordant like the united voices of a chorus, whose many meanings, spoken by melodious tongues, unite in his understanding in a single meaning and reveal to him a single vision, so that he can speak what no man else knows, the common meaning of the common voice. Such is the man who leads a great, free, democratic nation.

We must always be led by "men of the people," and therefore it behooves us to know them when we see them. How shall we distinguish them? Judged by this man, interpreted by this life, what is a "man of the people"? How shall we know him when he emerges to our view?

Well, in the first place, it seems to me that a man of the people is a man who sees affairs as the people see them, and not as a man of particular classes or the professions sees them. You cannot afford to take the advice of a man who has been too long submerged in a particular profession,—not because you cannot trust him to be honest and candid, but because he has been too long immersed and submerged, and through the inevitable pressure and circumstances of his life has come to look upon the nation from a particular point of view. The man of the people is a man who looks far and wide upon the nation, and is not limited by a professional point of view. That may be a hard doctrine; it may exclude some gentlemen ambitious to lead; but I am not trying to exclude them by any arbitrary dictum of my own; I am trying to interpret so much as I understand of human history, and if human history has excluded them, you cannot blame me. Human history has excluded them, as far as I understand it, and that is the end of the matter. I am not excluding them. In communities like ours, governed by general opinion and not led by classes, not dictated to by special interests,

they are of necessity excluded. You will see that it follows that a man of the people is not subdued by any stuff of life that he has happened to work in; that he is free to move in any direction his spirit prompts. Are you not glad that Mr. Lincoln did not succeed too deeply in any particular calling; that he was sufficiently detached to be lifted to a place of leadership and to be used by the whole country? Are you not glad that he had not narrowed his view and understanding to any particular interest,—did not think in the terms of interest but in the terms of life? Are you not glad that he had a myriad of contacts with the growing and vehement life of this country, and that, because of that multiple contact, he was, more than any one else of his generation, the spokesman of the general opinion of his country?

Why was it that Mr. Lincoln was wiser than the professional politicians? Because the professional politicians had burrowed into particular burrows and Mr. Lincoln walked on the surface and saw his fellow-men.

Why could Mr. Lincoln smile at lawyers and turn away from ministers? Because he had not had his contact with life as a lawyer has, and he had not lectured his fellow-men as a minister has. He was detached from every point of view and therefore superior,—at any rate in a position to becoming superior,—to every point of view. You must have a man of this detachable sort.

Moreover, you must not have a man, if he is to be a man of the people, who is standardized and conventionalized. Look to it that your communities, your great cities, do not impose too arbitrary standards upon the men whom you wish to use. Do not reduce men to standards. Let them be free. Do not compel them by conventions. Let them wear any clothes they please and look like anything they choose; let them do anything that a decent and an honest man may do without criticism; do not laugh at them because they do not look

like you, or talk like you, or think like you. They are freer for that circumstance, because, as an English writer has said: "You may talk of the tyranny of Nero and Tiberius, but the real tyranny is the tyranny of your nextdoor neighbour. There is no tyranny like the tyranny of being obliged to be like him,"—of being considered a very singular person if you are not; of having men shrug their shoulders and say, "Singular young man, sir, singular young man; very gifted, but not to be trusted." Not to be trusted because unlike your own trustworthy self! You must take your leaders in every time of difficulty from among absolutely free men who are not standardized and conventionalized, who are at liberty to do what they think right and what they think true; that is the only kind of leadership you can afford to have.

And then, last and greatest characteristic of all, a man of the people is a man who has felt that unspoken, that intense, that almost terrifying struggle of humanity, that struggle whose object is, not to get forms of government, not to realize particular formulas or make for any definite goal, but simply to live and be free. He has participated in that struggle; he has felt the blood stream against the tissue; he has known anxiety; he has felt that life contained for him nothing but effort, effort from the rising of the sun to the going down of it. He has, therefore, felt beat in him, if he had any heart, a universal sympathy for those who struggle, a universal understanding of the unutterable things that were in their hearts and the unbearable burdens that were upon their backs. A man who has that vision, of how—

"Now touching good, now backward hurled,
Toils the indomitable world"—

a man like Lincoln—understands. His was part of the toil; he had part and lot in the struggle; he knew the

uncertainty of the goal mankind had but just touched and from which they had been back; knew that the price of life is blood, and that no man who goes jauntily and complacently through the world will ever touch the springs of human action. Such a man with such a consciousness, such a universal human sympathy, such a universal comprehension of what life means, is your man of the people, and no one else can be.

What shall we do? It always seems to me a poor tribute to a great man who has been great in action, to spend the hours of his praise by merely remembering what he was; and there is no more futile eulogy than attempted imitation. It is impossible to imitate Lincoln, without being Lincoln; and then it would not be an imitation. It is impossible to reproduce the characters, as it is impossible to reproduce the circumstances of a past age. That ought to be a truism; that ought to be evident. We live, and we have no other choice, in this age, and the tasks of this age are the only tasks to which we are asked to address ourselves. We are not asked to apply our belated wisdom to the problems and perplexities of an age that is gone. We must have timely remedies, suitable for the existing moment. If that be true, the only way in which we can worthily celebrate a great man is by showing to-day that we have not lost the tradition of force which made former ages great, that we can reproduce them continuously in a kind of our own. You elevate the character of a man like Lincoln for his fellow-men to gaze upon, not as if it were an unattainable height, but as one of those conspicuous objects which men erect to mark the long lines of a survey, so that when they top the next hill they shall see that mark standing there where they have passed, not as something to daunt them, but as a high point by which they can lengthen and complete their measurements and make sure of their ultimate goal and achievement. That is the reason we erect the figures of men like this to be admired and looked upon, not as if we

were men who walk backward and deplore the loss of such figures and of such ages, but as men who keep such heights in mind and walk forward, knowing that the goal of the age is to scale new heights and to do things of which their work was a mere foundation, so that we shall live, like every other living thing, by renewal. We shall not live by recollection, we shall not live by trying to recall the strength of the old tissue, but by producing a new tissue. The process of life is a process of growth, and the process of growth is a process of renewal; and it is only in this wise that we shall face the tasks of the future.

The tasks of the future call for men like Lincoln more audibly, more imperatively, than did the tasks of the time when civil war was brewing and the very existence of the Nation was in the scale of destiny. For the things that perplex us at this moment are the things which mark, I will not say a warfare, but a division among classes; and when a nation begins to be divided into rival and contestant interests by the score, the time is much more dangerous than when it is divided into only two perfectly distinguishable interests, which you can discriminate and deal with. If there are only two sides I can easily make up my mind which side to take, but if there are a score of sides then I must say to some man who is not immersed, not submerged, not caught in this struggle, "Where shall I go? What do you see? What is the movement of the mass? Where are we going? Where do you propose you should go?" It is then I need a man of the people, detached from this struggle yet cognizant of it all, sympathetic with it all, saturated with it all, to whom I can say, "How do you sum it up, what are the signs of the day, what does the morning say, what are the tasks that we must set our hands to?" We should pray, not only that we should be led by such men, but also that they should be men of the particular sweetness that Lincoln possessed.

The most dangerous thing you can have in an age like this is a man who is intense and hot. We have heat enough; what we want is light. Anybody can stir up emotions, but who is master of men enough to take the saddle and guide those awakened emotions? Anybody can cry a nation awake to the necessities of reform, but who shall frame the reform but a man who is cool, who takes his time, who will draw you aside for a jest, who will say: "Yes, but not to-day, to-morrow; let us see the other man and see what he has to say; let us hear everybody, let us know what we are to do. In the meantime I have a capital story for your private ear. Let me take the strain off, let me unbend the steel. Don't let us settle this thing by fire but let us settle it by those cool, incandescent lights which show its real nature and color."

The most valuable thing about Mr. Lincoln was that in the midst of the strain of war, in the midst of the crash of arms, he could sit quietly in his room and enjoy a book that led his thoughts off from everything American, could wander in fields of dreams, while every other man was hot with the immediate contest. Always set your faith in a man who can withdraw himself, because only the man who can withdraw himself can see the stage; only the man who can withdraw himself can see affairs as they are.

And so the lesson of this day is faith in the common product of the nation; the lesson of this day is the future as well as the past leadership of men, wise men, who have come from the people. We should not be Americans deserving to call ourselves the fellow-countrymen of Lincoln if we did not feel the compulsion that his example lays upon us—the compulsion, not to heed him merely but to look to our own duty, to live every day as if that were the day upon which America was to be reborn and remade; to attack every task as if we had something here that was new and virginal and original, out of which we could make the very stuff

of life, by integrity, faith in our fellow-men, wherever it is deserved, absolute ignorance of any obstacle that is insuperable, patience, indomitable courage, insight, universal sympathy,—with that programme opening our hearts to every candid suggestion, listening to all the voices of the nation, trying to bring in a new day of vision and of achievement.

THE SPIRIT OF LEARNING

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE PHI BETA KAPPA CHAPTER
AT CAMBRIDGE, JULY 1, 1909. FROM THE "HAR-
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WE have fallen of late into a deep discontent with the college, with the life and the work of the undergraduates in our universities. It is an honourable discontent, bred in us by devotion, not by captiousness or hostility or by an unreasonable impatience to set the world right. We are not critics, but anxious and thoughtful friends. We are neither cynics nor pessimists, but honest lovers of a good thing, of whose slightest deterioration we are jealous. We would fain keep one of the finest instrumentalities of our national life from falling short of its best, and believe that by a little care and candor we can do so.

The American college has played a unique part in American life. So long as its aims were definite and its processes authoritative it formed men who brought to their tasks an incomparable morale, a capacity that seemed more than individual, a power touched with large ideals. The college has been the seat of ideals. The liberal training which it sought to impart took no thought of any particular profession or business, but was meant to reflect in its few and simple disciplines the image of life and thought. Men were bred by it to no skill or craft or calling: the discipline to which they were subjected had a more general object. It was meant to prepare them for the whole of life rather

than for some particular part of it. The ideals which lay at its heart were the general ideals of conduct, of right living, and right thinking, which made them aware of a world moralized by principle, steadied and cleared of many an evil thing by true and catholic reflection and just feeling, a world, not of interests, but of ideas.

Such impressions, such challenges to a man's spirit, such intimations of privilege and duty are not to be found in the work and obligations of professional and technical schools. They cannot be. Every calling has its ethics, indeed, its standards of right conduct and wrong, its outlook upon action and upon the varied relationships of society. Its work is high and honorable, grounded, it may be, in the exact knowledge which moralizes the processes of thought, and in a skill which makes the whole man serviceable. But it is notorious how deep and how narrow the absorptions of the professional school are and how much they are necessarily concentrated upon the methods and interests of a particular occupation. The work to be done in them is as exact, as definite, as exclusive as that of the office and the shop. Their atmosphere is the atmosphere of business, and should be. It does not beget generous comradeships or any ardor of altruistic feeling such as the college begets. It does not contain that general air of the world of science and of letters in which the mind seeks no special interest, but feels every intimate impulse of the spirit set free to think and observe and listen,—listen to all the voices of the mind. The professional school differs from the college as middle age differs from youth. It gets the spirit of the college only by imitation or reminiscence or contagion. This is to say nothing to its discredit. Its nature and objects are different from those of the college,—as legitimate, as useful, as necessary; but different. The college is the place of orientation; the professional school is the place of concentration. The object of the college is to liberalize

and moralize; the object of the professional school is to train the powers to a special task. And this is true of all vocational study.

I am, of course, using the words liberalize and moralize in their broadest significance, and I am very well aware that I am speaking in the terms of an ideal, a conception, rather than in the terms of realized fact. I have spoken, too, of what the college did "so long as its aims were definite and its processes authoritative," as if I were thinking of it wholly in the past tense and wished to intimate that it was once a very effective and ideal thing but had now ceased to exist; so that one would suppose that I thought the college lost out of our life and the present a time when such influences were all to seek. But that is only because I have not been able to say everything at once. Give me leave, and I will slowly write in the phrases which will correct these impressions and bring a true picture to light.

The college has lost its definiteness of aim, and has now for so long a time affected to be too modest to assert its authority over its pupils in any matter of prescribed study that it can no longer claim to be the nurturing mother it once was; but the college is neither dead nor moribund, and it has made up for its relaxed discipline and confused plans of study by many notable gains, which, if they have not improved its scholarship, have improved the health and the practical morals of the young gentlemen who resort to it, have enhanced their vigor and quickened their whole natures. A freer choice of studies has imparted to it a stir, an air of freedom and individual initiative, a wealth and variety of instruction which the old college altogether lacked. The development of athletic sports and the immoderate addiction of undergraduates to stimulating activities of all sorts, academic and unacademic, which improve their physical habits, fill their lives with interesting objects, sometimes important, and challenge their powers of organization and practical management, have unques-

tionably raised the tone of morals and of conduct in our colleges and have given them an interesting, perhaps valuable, connection with modern society and the broader popular interests of the day. No one need regret the breaking-up of the dead levels of the old college, the introduction and exaltation of modern studies, or the general quickening of life which has made of our youngsters more manly fellows, if less docile pupils. There had come to be something rather narrow and dull and morbid, no doubt, about the old college before its day was over. If we gain our advances by excessive reactions and changes which change too much, we at least gain them, and should be careful not to lose the advantage of them.

Nevertheless, the evident fact is, that we have now for a long generation devoted ourselves to promoting changes which have resulted in all but complete disorganization, and it is our plain and immediate duty to form our plans for reorganization. We must reëxamine the college, reconceive it, reorganize it. It is the root of our intellectual life as a nation. It is not only the instrumentality through which we must effect all the broad preliminary work which underlies sound scholarship; it is also our chief instrumentality of catholic enlightenment, our chief means for giving widespread stimulation to the whole intellectual life of the country and supplying ourselves with men who shall both comprehend their age and duty and know how to serve them supremely well. Without the American college our young men would be too exclusively shut in to the pursuit of individual interests, would lose the vital contacts and emulations which awaken them to those larger achievements and sacrifices which are the highest objects of education in a country of free citizens, where the welfare of the commonwealth springs out of the character and the informed purposes of the private citizen. The college will be found to lie somewhere very

near the heart of American social training and intellectual and moral enlightenment.

The process is familiar to every one by which the disintegration was brought about which destroyed the old college with its fixed disciplines and ordered life and gave us our present problem of reorganization and recovery. It centred in the break-up of the old curriculum and the introduction of the principle that the student was to select his own studies from a great variety of courses, as great a variety as the resources of the college and the supply of teachers available made possible. But the change could not in the nature of things stop with the plan of study. It held at its heart a tremendous implication: the implication of full manhood on the part of the pupil, and all the untrammelled choices of manhood. The pupil who was mature and well informed enough to study what he chose was also by necessary implication mature enough to be left free to *do* what he pleased, to choose his own associations and ways of life outside the curriculum without restraint or suggestion; and the varied, absorbing college life of our day sprang up as the natural offspring of the free election of studies.

There went along with the relaxation of rule as to what undergraduates should study, therefore, an almost absolute divorce between the studies and the life of the college, its business and its actual daily occupations. The teacher ceased to look upon himself as related in any responsible way to the life of his pupils, to what they should be doing and thinking of between one class exercise and another, and conceived his whole duty to have been performed when he had given his lecture and afforded those who were appointed to come the opportunity to hear and heed it if they chose. The teachers of this new régime, moreover, were most of them trained for their teaching work in German universities, or in American universities in which the methods, the points of view, the spirit, and the object of the German uni-

versities were, consciously or unconsciously, reproduced. They think of their pupils, therefore, as men already disciplined by some general training such as the German gymnasium gives, and seeking in the university special acquaintance with particular studies, as an introduction to special fields of information and inquiry. They have never thought of the university as a community of teachers and pupils: they think of it, rather, as a body of teachers and investigators to whom those may resort who seriously desire specialized kinds of knowledge. They are specialists imported into an American system which has lost its old point of view and found no new one suitable to the needs and circumstances of America. They do not think of living with their pupils and affording them the contacts of culture; they are only accessible to them at stated periods and for a definite and limited service; and their teaching is an interruption to their favorite work of research.

Meanwhile, the constituency of the college has wholly changed. It is not only the bookish classes who now send their sons to college, but also the men of business and of affairs, who expect their sons to follow in their own footsteps and do work with which books have little connection. In the old days of which I have spoken most young men who went to college expected to enter one or other of the learned professions, expected to have to do with books and some of the more serious kinds of learning all their lives. Books were their proper introduction to the work that lay before them; learning was their natural discipline and preparation. But nowadays the men who are looking forward to the learned professions are in a minority at the college. Most undergraduates come out of an atmosphere of business and wish a breeding which is consonant with it. They do not wish learning. They wish only a certain freshening of their faculties for the miscellaneous contacts of life, a general acquaintance with what men are doing and saying in their own generation, a certain facility in han-

dling themselves and in getting on with their fellows. They are much more interested in the incidental associations of college life than in the main intellectual occupations of the place. They want to be made men of, not scholars; and the life led at college is as serviceable for that as any of the tasks set in the class-room. If they want what the formal teaching offers them at all, it is for some definite and practical purpose connected with the calling they expect to follow, the business they expect to engage in. Such pupils are specially unsuitable for such teachers.

Here, then, is our situation. Here is the little world of teachers and pupils, athletic associations, musical and literary clubs, social organizations and societies for amusement, class-room and playground, of which we must make analysis, out of which we must get a new synthesis, a definite aim, and new processes of authoritative direction, losing nothing that has been gained, recovering what has been lost. All the fresh elements we have gained are valuable, many of the new points of view are those from which we must look upon the whole task and function of the college if we would see it truly; but we have fallen upon an almost hopeless confusion and an utter dispersion of energy. We must pull the whole inorganic thing together under a new conception of what the college must be and do.

The chief and characteristic mistake which the teachers and governors of our colleges have made in these latter days has been that they have devoted themselves and their plans too exclusively to the business, the very commonplace business, of instruction, to well-conceived lectures and approved class-room method, and have not enough regarded the life of the mind. The mind does not live by instruction. It is no prolix gut to be stuffed. The real intellectual life of a body of undergraduates, if there be any, manifests itself, not in the class-room, but in what they do and talk of and set before themselves as their favorite objects between classes and lec-

tures. You will see the true life of a college in the evenings, at the dinner-table or beside the fire in the groups that gather and the men that go off eagerly to their work, where youths get together and let themselves go upon their favorite themes,—in the effect their studies have upon them when no compulsion of any kind is on them and they are not thinking to be called to a reckoning of what they know.

The effects of learning are its real tests, the real tests alike of its validity and of its efficacy. The mind can be driven, but that is not life. Life is voluntary or unconscious. It is breathed in out of a sustaining atmosphere. It is shaped by environment. It is habitual, continuous, productive. It does not consist in tasks performed, but in powers gained and enhanced. It cannot be communicated in class-rooms if its aim and end is the class-room. Instruction is not its source, but only its incidental means and medium.

Here is the key to the whole matter: the object of the college, as we have known and used and loved it in America, is not scholarship (except for the few, and for them only by way of introduction and first orientation), but the intellectual and spiritual life. Its life and discipline are meant to be a process of preparation, not a process of information. By the intellectual and spiritual life I mean the life which enables the mind to comprehend and make proper use of the modern world and all its opportunities. The object of a liberal training is not learning, but discipline and the enlightenment of the mind. The educated man is to be discovered by his point of view, by the temper of his mind, by his attitude towards life and his fair way of thinking. He can see, he can discriminate, he can combine ideas and perceive whither they lead; he has insight and comprehension. His mind is a practised instrument of appreciation. He is more apt to contribute light than heat to a discussion, and will oftener than another show the power of uniting the elements of a difficult subject in

a whole view; he has the knowledge of the world which no one can have who knows only his own generation or only his own task.

What we should seek to impart in our colleges, therefore, is not so much learning itself as the spirit of learning. You can impart that to young men; and you can impart it to them in the three or four years at your disposal. It consists in the power to distinguish good reasoning from bad, in the power to digest and interpret evidence, in a habit of catholic observation and a preference for the non-partisan point of view, in an addiction to clear and logical processes of thought and yet an instinctive desire to interpret rather than to stick in the letter of the reasoning, in a taste for knowledge and a deep respect for the integrity of the human mind. It is citizenship of the world of knowledge, but not ownership of it. Scholars are the owners of its varied plots, in severalty.

If we recognize and accept these ideas, this conception of the function and the possibilities of the college, there is hope of a general understanding and accommodation. At present there is a fundamental misunderstanding. The teachers in our colleges are men of learning and conceive it their duty to impart learning; but their pupils do not desire it, and the parents of their pupils do not desire it for them. They desire something else which the teacher has little thought of giving, generally thinks it no part of his function to give. Many of the parents of our modern undergraduates will frankly tell you that what they want for their sons is not so much what they will get in the class-room as something else, which they are at a loss to define, which they will get from the associations of college life: and many more would say the same thing if they were equally ingenuous. I know what they mean, and I am free to say that I sympathize with them. They understand that all that their boys get in the class-room is instruction in certain definite bodies of knowledge; that all they

are expected to bring away from their lectures and recitations is items of learning. They have consorted with college men, if they are not college bred themselves, and know how very soon items of knowledge slip away from them, no matter how faithful and diligent they may have been in accumulating them when they were students. They observe that that part of the college acquisition is very soon lost. College graduates will tell you without shame or regret, within ten years of their graduation, that they remember practically nothing of what they learned in the class-room; and yet in the very same breath they will tell you that they would not have lost what they did get in college for anything in the world; and men who did not have the chance to go to college will everywhere be found to envy them, perceiving that college-bred men have something which they have not. What have they got, if learning is to be left out of the reckoning? They have got manliness, certainly, *esprit de corps*, the training of generous comradeships, a notable development of their social faculties and of their powers of appreciation; and they have lived under the influence of mental tasks of greater or less difficulty, have got from the class-room itself, from a quiet teacher here and there, some intimation, some touch of the spirit of learning. If they have not, they have got only what could no doubt be got from association with generous, self-respecting young men anywhere. Attendance on the exercises of the college was only a means of keeping them together for four years, to work out their comradeships and their mutual infections.

I said just now that I sympathized with men who said that what they wanted for their sons in college was not what they got in the class-room so much as what they got from the life and associations of the place; but I agree with them only if what is to be got in the class-room is nothing more than items of knowledge likely to be quickly lost hold of. I agree with them; but I see clearly what they are blindly feeling after. They should

desire chiefly what their sons are to get out of the life and associations of the place; but that life and those associations should be freighted with things they do not now contain. The processes of life, the contagions of association, are the only things that have ever got any real or permanent hold on men's minds. These are the conducting media for every effect we seek to work on the human spirit. The undergraduate should have scholars for teachers. They should hold his attention steadily upon great tested bodies of knowledge and should insist that he make himself acquainted with them, if only for the nonce. But they will give him nothing he is likely to carry with him through life if they stop with formal instruction, however thorough or exacting they may make it. Their permanent effects will be wrought upon his spirit. Their teaching will follow him through life only if they reveal to him the meaning, the significance, the essential validity of what they are about, the motives which prompt it, the processes which verify it. They will rule him, not by what they know and inform him of, but by the spirit of the things they expound. And that spirit they cannot convey in any formal manner. They can convey it only atmospherically, by making their ideals tell in some way upon the whole spirit of the place.

How shall their pupils carry their spirit away with them, or the spirit of the things they teach, if beyond the door of the class-room the atmosphere will not contain it? College is a place of initiation. Its effects are atmospheric. They are wrought by impression, by association, by emulation. The voices which do not penetrate beyond the doors of the class-room are lost, are ineffectual, are void of consequence and power. No thought will obtain or live there for the transmission of which the prevailing atmosphere is a non-conducting medium. If young gentlemen get from their years at college only manliness, *esprit de corps*, a release of their social gifts, a training in give and take, a catholic taste

in men, and the standards of true sportsmen, they have gained much, but they have not gained what a college should give them. It should give them insight into the things of the mind and of the spirit, a sense of having lived and formed their friendships amidst the gardens of the mind where grows the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, a consciousness of having taken on them the vows of true enlightenment and of having undergone the discipline, never to be shaken off, of those who seek wisdom in candor, with faithful labour and travail of spirit.

These things they cannot get from the class-room unless the spirit of the class-room is the spirit of the place as well and of its life; and that will never be until the teacher comes out of the class-room and makes himself a part of that life. Contact, companionship, familiar intercourse is the law of life for the mind. The comradeships of undergraduates will never breed the spirit of learning. The circle must be widened. It must include the older men, the teachers, the men for whom life has grown more serious and to whom it has revealed more of its meanings. So long as instruction and life do not merge in our colleges, so long as what the undergraduates do and what they are taught occupy two separate, air-tight compartments in their consciousness, so long will the college be ineffectual.

Looked at from the point of view at which I stand in all that I have been saying, some of the proposals made in our day for the improvement of the college seem very strangely conceived. It has been proposed, for example, to shorten the period of general study in college to (say) two years, and let the student who has gone the distance our present sophomores have gone enter at once upon his professional studies or receive his certificate of graduation. I take it for granted that those who have formulated this proposal never really knew a sophomore in the flesh. They say, simply, that the studies of our present sophomores are as advanced

as the studies of seniors were in the great days of our grandfathers, and that most of our present sophomores are as old as our grandfathers were when they graduated from the pristine college we so often boast of; and I dare say that is all true enough. But what they do not know is, that our sophomore is at the age of twenty no more mature than the sophomore of that previous generation was at the age of seventeen or eighteen. The sap of manhood is rising in him but it has not yet reached his head. It is not what a man is studying that makes him a sophomore or a senior: it is the stage the college process has reached in him. A college, the American college, is not a body of studies: it is a process of development. It takes, if our observation can be trusted, at least four years for the completion of that process, and all four of those years must be college years. They cannot be school years: they cannot be combined with school years. The school process is an entirely different one. The college is a process of slow evolution from the schoolboy and the schoolboy's mental attitude into the man and his entirely altered view of the world. It can be accomplished only in the college environment. The environment is of the essence of the whole effect.

If you wish to create a college, therefore, and are wise, you will seek to create a life. We have allowed ourselves to grow very anxious and to feel very helpless about college athletics. They play too large a part in the life of the undergraduate, we say; and no doubt they do. There are many other things which play too large a part in that life, to the exclusion of intellectual interests and the dissipation of much excellent energy: amusements of all kinds, social preoccupations of the most absorbing sort, a multitude of activities which have nothing whatever to do with the discipline and enlightenment of the mind. But that is because they are left a free field. Life, at college, is one thing, the work of the college another, entirely separate and distinct. The life

is the field that is left free for athletics not only, but also for every other amusement and diversion. Studies are no part of that life, and there is no competition. Study is the work which interrupts the life, introduces an embarrassing and inconsistent element into it. The faculty has no part in the life; it organizes the interruption, the interference.

This is not to say that there are not a great many undergraduates seriously interested in study, or that it is impossible or even difficult to make the majority of them, the large majority, pass the tests of the examinations. It is only saying that the studies do not spring out of the life of the place and are hindered by it, must resist its influences if they would flourish. I have no jealousy of athletics: it has put wholesome spirit into both the physical and the mental life of our undergraduates. There are fewer morbid boys in the new college which we know than there were in the old college which our fathers knew; and fewer prigs, too, no doubt. Athletics are indispensable to the normal life of young men, and are in themselves wholesome and delightful, besides. In another atmosphere, the atmosphere of learning, they could be easily subordinated and assimilated. The reason they cannot be now is that there is nothing to assimilate them, nothing by which they can be digested. They make their own atmosphere unmolested. There is no direct competition.

The same thing may be said, for it is true, of all the other amusements and all the social activities of the little college world. Their name is legion: they are very interesting; most of them are in themselves quite innocent and legitimate; many of them are thoroughly worth while. They now engross the attention and absorb the energies of most of the finest, most spirited, most gifted youngsters in the undergraduate body, men fit to be scholars and masters in many fields, and for whom these small things are too trivial a preparation. They would not do so if other things which would be

certain to grip these very men were in competition with them, were known and spoken of and pervasive in the life of the college outside the class-room; but they are not. The field is clear for all these little activities, as it is clear for athletics. Athletics has no serious competitor except these amusements and petty engrossments; they have no serious competitor except athletics. The scholar is not in the game. He keeps modestly to his class-room and his study and must be looked up and asked questions if you would know what he is thinking about. His influence can be set going only by the deliberate effort of the undergraduate himself who looks him up and stirs him. He deplores athletics and all the other absorbing and non-academic pursuits which he sees drawing the attention of his pupils off from study and serious preparation for life, but he will not enter into competition with them. He has never dreamed of such a thing; and, to tell the truth, the life of the place is organized in such a way as to make it hardly possible for him to do so. He is therefore withdrawn and ineffectual.

It is the duty of university authorities to make of the college a society, of which the teacher will be as much, and as naturally, a member as the undergraduate. When that is done other things will fall into their natural places, their natural relations. Young men are capable of great enthusiasms for older men whom they have learned to know in some human, unartificial way, whose quality they have tasted in unconstrained conversation, the energy and beauty of whose characters and aims they have learned to appreciate by personal contact; and such enthusiasms are often amongst the strongest and most lasting influences of their lives. You will not gain the affection of your pupil by anything you do for him, impersonally, in the class-room. You may gain his admiration and vague appreciation, but he will tie to you only for what you have shown him personally or given him in intimate and friendly service.

Certain I am that it is impossible to rid our colleges of these things that compete with study and drive out the spirit of learning by the simple device of legislation, in which, as Americans, we have so childish a confidence; or, at least, that, if we did succeed in driving them out, did set our home in order and sweep and garnish it, other equally distracting occupants would crowd in to take their places. For the house would be empty. There must be life as well as study. The question is, not of what are we to empty it, but with what must we fill it? We must fill it with the things of the mind and of the spirit; and that we can do by introducing into it men for whom these things are supremely interesting, the main objects of life and endeavour, teachers who will not seem pedagogues but friends, and who can by the gentle infection of friendliness make thought a general contagion. Do that; create the atmosphere and the contacts of a society made up of men young and old, mature and adolescent, serious and gay, and you will create an emulation, a saturation, a vital union of parts in a common life, in which all questions of subordination and proportion will solve themselves. So soon as the things which now dissipate and distract and dissolve our college life *feel* the things which should coördinate and regulate and inspire it in direct contact with them, *feel* their ardour and their competition, they will fall into their proper places, will become pleasures and cease to be occupations, will delight our undergraduate days, but not monopolize them. They are exaggerated now because they are separated and do not exchange impulses with those greater things of whose presence they are sometimes hardly conscious.

No doubt there are many ways in which this vital association may be effected, but all wise and successful ways will have this in common, that they will abate nothing of the freedom and self-government which have so quickened and purified our colleges in these recent days of change, will have no touch of school surveillance

in them. You cannot force companionships upon undergraduates, if you treat them like men. You can only create the conditions, set up the organization, which will make them natural. The scholar should not need a statute behind him. The spirit of learning should not covet the support of the spirit and organization of the nursery. It will prevail of its own grace and power if you will but give it a chance, a conducting medium, an air in which it can move and breathe freely without effort of self-consciousness. If it cannot, I, for one, am willing to lend it artificial assistance. It must take its chances in the competition and win on its merits, under the ordinary rules of the game of life, where the most interesting man attracts attention, the strongest personality rules, the best organized force predominates, the most admirable thing wins allegiance. We are not seeking to force a marriage between knowledge and pleasure; we are simply trying to throw them a great deal together in the confidence that they will fall in love with one another. We are seeking to expose the undergraduate when he is most susceptible to the best and most stimulating influences of the university in the hope and belief that no sensible fellow fit for a career can resist the infection.

My plea, then, is this: that we now deliberately set ourselves to make a home for the spirit of learning: that we reorganize our colleges on the lines of this simple conception, that a college is not only a body of studies but a mode of association; that its courses are only its formal side, its contacts and contagions its realities. It must become a community of scholars and pupils,—a free community but a very real one, in which democracy may work its reasonable triumphs of accommodation, its vital processes of union. I am not suggesting that young men be dragooned into becoming scholars or tempted to become pedants, or have any artificial compulsion whatever put upon them, but only that they be introduced into the high society of univer-

sity ideals, be exposed to the hazards of stimulating friendships, be introduced into the easy comradeships of the republic of letters. By this means the class-room itself might some day come to seem a part of life.

THE TARIFF MAKE-BELIEVE.

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THE wrong settlement of a great public question is no settlement at all. The Payne-Aldrich tariff bill, therefore, which its authors would fain regard as a settlement of the tariff question, is no settlement at all. It is miscellaneously wrong in detail and radically wrong in principle. It disturbs more than it settles, and by its very failure to settle forces the tariff question forward into a new and much more acute stage.

It is so obviously impossible to settle the question satisfactorily in the way these gentlemen have attempted to settle it; it is so evident that men of their mind and with their attitude towards the economic interests of the country can never settle it that thinking men of every kind realize at last that new men and new principles of action must be found. These gentlemen do not know the way and cannot find it. They "revised" the tariff, indeed, but by a method which was a grand make-believe from beginning to end. They may have convinced themselves of the intelligence and integrity of the process, but they have convinced nobody else. The country must now go to the bottom of the matter and obtain what it wants.

It has gone to the bottom of it at some points already, and the process will be carried very far before it is through with it. In the first place, it is the general opinion throughout the country that this particular revision was chiefly pretense, and that it is the first time that we have had tariff legislation of this kind. The McKinley tariff bill and the Dingley tariff bill, whatever may be

thought of their wisdom or of their validity as acts of statesmanship, were unquestionably frank and genuine. There was no concealment or make-believe about either their purpose or their character. No doubt many things were accomplished by them of which the public knew nothing and was intended to know nothing. Not all the advantages gained by this, that or the other industry from legislation of that kind could be explained to the public without creating inconvenient comment and startling questions that might cut very deep; but that is true of all legislation which is meant to give particular classes of citizens a special economic assistance or advantage. Private favours will inevitably creep in. But no one was deceived. The men who put those measures through had no doubt that they had the support of the country in doing so. They gave the country what they thought opinion would sustain: gave it what they honestly supposed that it wanted. But no one who is capable of assessing opinion now can possibly claim that that is what the men who were behind the Payne-Aldrich legislation did. They knew that they were not giving the country what it wanted, and the more thoughtful and statesmanlike among them deeply regretted that they could not. There was a process almost of haphazard in the construction of the House bill, and mere false leadership and chicanery produced the bill which the Senate substituted for it and which largely prevailed in conference.

The methods by which tariff bills are constructed have now become all too familiar and throw a significant light on the character of the legislation involved. Debate in the Houses has little or nothing to do with it. The process by which such a bill is made is private, not public; because the reasons which underlie many of the rates imposed are private. The stronger faction of the Ways and Means Committee of the House makes up the preliminary bill, with the assistance of "experts" whom it permits the industries most concerned to supply

for its guidance. The controlling members of the committee also determine what amendments, if any, shall be accepted, either from the minority faction of the committee or from the House itself. It permits itself to be dictated to, if at all, only by the imperative action of a party caucus. The stronger faction of the Finance Committee of the Senate, in like fashion, frames the bill which it intends to substitute for the one sent up from the House. It is often to be found at work on it before any bill reaches it from the popular chamber. The compromise between the two measures is arranged in private conference by conferees drawn from the two committees. What takes place in the committees and in the conference is confidential. It is considered impertinent for reporters to inquire. It is admitted to be the business of the manufacturers concerned, but not the business of the public, who are to pay the rates. The debates which the country is invited to hear in the open sessions of the Houses are merely formal. They determine nothing and disclose very little.

It is the policy of silence and secrecy, indeed, with regard to the whole process that makes it absolutely inconsistent with every standard of public duty and political integrity. If the newspapers published and the public read even the debates, empty of significance as they generally are, the entire country would presently realize how flagrant the whole make-believe is. The committees under whose guidance the bills are put through the House disclose nothing that is not wrung from them by members who have made investigations of their own and who insist upon having their questions answered; and there are few enough who have the audacity or take the trouble. But here and there a fact is dragged out, and before the encounters of debate are over enough has been brought to the light to make extremely instructive reading. It is devoutly to be wished,—merely to cite examples,—that every voter in the United States had read, or would yet read, the

debates in the Senate on the duty on electric carbons,—the carbons used in the arc-lights in all our cities,—and on the duty on razors. Every detail is a commentary on the whole depressing business.

One extraordinary circumstance of the debates in the Senate should receive more than a passing allusion. The Republican party platform had promised that the tariff rates should be revised and that the standard of revision should be the differences between the cost of producing the various articles affected in this country and in the countries with which our manufacturers compete. One of our chief industrial competitors is now Germany, with its extraordinary skill in manufacture and the handicrafts and its formidable sagacity in foreign trade; and the Department of State, in order to enable Congress the more intelligently to fulfill the promises of the party, had, at the suggestion of the President, requested the German Government to furnish it with as full information as possible about the rates of wages paid in the leading industries in that country,—wages being known, of course, to be one of the largest items in the cost of production. The German Government of course complied, with its usual courtesy and thoroughness, transmitting an interesting report, each portion of which was properly authenticated and vouched for. The Department of State placed it at the disposal of the Finance Committee of the Senate. But Senators tried in vain to ascertain what it contained. Mr. Aldrich spoke of it contemptuously as “anonymous,” which of course it was not, as “unofficial,” and even as an impertinent attempt, on the part of the German Government, to influence our tariff legislation. It was only too plain that the contents of the report made the members of the controlling faction of the Finance Committee very uncomfortable indeed. It undoubtedly showed, what independent private inquiries readily enough confirm, that the wages paid to skilled laborers in Germany are practically as great as those paid in the

United States, the difference in the cost of living in the two countries being taken into consideration. To have made it public would have been to upset half the arguments for the rates proposed with which the committee had been misinforming the country. It would no doubt have explained, for example, why the skilled grinders of Solingen do not think it worth their while to emigrate to America and oblige almost all razor-makers in other countries to send their blades to them to be ground,—and many another matter left studiously undebated, unexplained, about which Senators had been asking for information. It would have proved that the leaders of the party were deliberately breaking its promise to the country. It was, therefore, thrown into a pigeon-hole and disregarded. It was a private document.

In pursuance of the same policy of secrecy and private management, the bill was filled with what those who discovered them were good-natured or cynical enough to call “jokers,”—clauses whose meaning did not lie upon the surface, whose language was meant not to disclose its meaning to the members of the Houses who were to be asked to enact them into law, but only to those by whom the law was to be administered after its enactment. This was one of the uses to which the “experts” were put whom the committees encouraged to advise them. They knew the technical words under which meanings could be hidden, or the apparently harmless words which had a chance to go unnoted or unchallenged. Electric carbons had been taxed at ninety cents per hundred; the new bill taxed them at seventy cents per hundred *feet*,—an apparent reduction if the word *feet* went unchallenged. It came very near escaping the attention of the Senate, and did quite escape the attention of the general public, who paid no attention at all to the debates, that the addition of the word *feet* almost doubled the existing duty.

The hugest practical joke of the whole bill lay in the so-called maximum and minimum clause. The schedules

as they were detailed in the bill and presented to the country, through the committees and the newspapers,—the schedules by which it was made believe that the promise to the country of a “downward” revision was being kept by those responsible for the bill, were only the minimum schedules. There lay at the back of the measure a maximum provision about which very little was said, but the weight of which the country may come to feel as a very serious and vexatious burden in the months to come. In the case of articles imported from countries whose tariff arrangements discriminate against the United States, the duties are to be put at a maximum which is virtually prohibitive. The clause is a huge threat. Self-respecting countries do not yield to threats or to “impertinent efforts, on the part of other Governments, to affect their tariff legislation.” Where the threat is not heeded we shall pay heavier duties than ever, heavier duties than any previous Congress ever dared impose.

When it is added that not the least attempt was made to alter the duties on sugar by which every table in the country is taxed for the benefit of the Sugar Trust, but just now convicted of criminal practices in defrauding the Government in this very matter; that increased rates were laid on certain classes of cotton goods for the benefit, chiefly, of the manufacturers of New England, from which the dominant party always counts upon getting votes, and that the demand of the South, from which it does not expect to get them, for free cotton bagging was ignored; that the rates on wool and woollen goods, a tax which falls directly upon the clothing of the whole population of the country, were maintained unaltered; and that relief was granted at only one or two points,—by conceding free hides and almost free iron ore, for example,—upon which public opinion had been long and anxiously concentrated; and granted only at the last moment upon the earnest solicitation of the President,—nothing more need be said to demonstrate

the insincerity, the uncandid, designing, unpatriotic character of the whole process. It was not intended for the public good. It was intended for the benefit of the interests most directly and selfishly concerned.

There was noticeable confusion in the counsels of the dominant party. Some said this, some said that. Many were anxious, probably a majority in the House, to fulfill in entire good faith the promise their party convention had given in its platform and the President had so frankly interpreted and repeated; others were willing, some were eager, to evade it. Their leaders led them by the way of evasion. I do not know whether they were conscious of doing so or not. It need make no difference to the country whether they were or not: it is only the fact that interests it, however the fact may affect individuals. If the leaders of the Republican party were not aware that they were seeking a way of evasion, they have an unusual capacity for deceiving themselves; if they were they did not deal honestly by the country. Either alternative proves them wholly unserviceable and untrustworthy. We need not stop, therefore, to choose between the alternatives: for we are not discussing their characters, but the present interests of the country with regard to the tariff. The question that interests us is this: How out of this confusion of counsel was an agreement reached, and why was the agreement that which the leaders of the Houses desired rather than that which the rank and file of the party would have honestly preferred? What, when its policies are in debate within its own ranks, finally determines the course the Republican party will take in a matter like this?

I know, of course, as every one does, how great the power of the Speaker of the House is, and the great and sinister hold the chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate has upon the legislative machinery of that body, whatever signs of apparent independence it may show in the open processes of debate. It is matter

of common knowledge what Mr. Cannon and Mr. Aldrich would prefer to have the House do when any question of this sort is under consideration. But these men represent forces, they do not constitute them. The forces that control the Republican party lie outside of them. They are only the spokesmen of those forces. Why do the rank and file of the Republican members still, in this day of change, find themselves unable to make an independent choice in a matter like this, of capital importance to their party and to the country? They do not mistake the signs of the times. Why, then, are they impotent?

The question can be answered very frankly, and, I hope, without partisan bias and without offense to honourable men whose principles I would not presume to call in question. The Republican party is old at the business of tariff-making and has established a business constituency. Its leaders feel that they must satisfy that constituency, and they force their followers to follow them by very concrete and practical arguments. It has come to a point where they have grown very stubborn and short-sighted in their loyalty to their constituency, but that is hardly to be wondered at. The loyalty is of long standing and has become a fundamental asset, as it seems to them, of party business.

The business of tariff-making naturally grows more and more complex, naturally comes to involve a greater and greater complexity of interests. Those who conduct it extend their clientage from generation to generation, to make sure that they have clients enough. Whatever principle may underlie tariff-making, and however valid that principle may be, however fundamental to the general development and prosperity of the country, tariff schedules arranged for "protection" are governmental favours. Those who make them, though acting for the nation, are the patrons of the industries favoured: they dispense the largess of the Government, and those who receive the favours will be their partisans

and followers so long as the favours continue. The relation cannot be avoided. The only thing that can be avoided is the corrupting influence of the relationship, and that can be avoided only by very strong men. A political party cannot withstand it for many generations together: cannot, I mean, withstand the gradual corruption of its will,—the temptation to make use of the patronage it dispenses for the perpetuation of the power it derives from it, the unfailing support at the elections of the wealthiest and most influential classes of the country.

Here, in a protective tariff, are the entrenchments of Special Privilege, and every beneficiary will of course crowd into them on the day of battle, determined to keep his own. Shall a man not defend what he has?

I am not seeking to point a moral. Neither am I drawing up an indictment of the Republican party. I am merely outlining the natural history of a governmental policy whose prime object is to make particular industries safe against competition. Parties are capital epitomes of human nature; and I dare say that any other party that espoused this principle of legislation would use it for party advantage in the same way. My point is rather how it has been used than who has used it. Its uses and effects are plain,—painfully plain now. Its use is to extend to certain undertakings Government favour and assistance; its effect has been to build up special privilege. No doubt the country will have to hold those responsible who managed the business; but its real interest will not be in punishing them, many of them honest and public-spirited enough, but in getting rid of special privilege. That it has made up its mind to do. It now only seeks the best and most effectual way.

It sees plainly enough, at last, that the place to begin is the tariff. That it saw before the last Presidential election; but Mr. Cannon and Mr. Aldrich have managed between them to make it more evident than ever

before. They have executed their purpose, not wisely, but too well. A day of judgment is at hand.

“The sword of Heaven is not in haste to smite,
Nor yet doth linger.”

The purpose of the people has much the same habit. Perhaps it is the sword of Heaven!

It is not a question of schedules. It is possible that by reasonable schedules,—by a minimum of favouritism and make-believe,—the tariff-makers of the special session might have quieted the country,—might have induced it to let the troublesome and perplexing subject drop for a decade or two. But it would have been only a stay of judgment. The essential wrong would still have cried out to be righted. And the essential wrong is this: that, except for a few men who have been fairly hypnotized by a system which they have accepted as political gospel since their youth, it has ceased to be a matter of principle at all and has become merely a method of granting favours. The favours are obtained in two ways—by “influence” and by supplication of a kind for which there is no classical or strictly parliamentary designation. In the vulgar, it is called “the baby act.”

What “influence” consists of is a very occult matter, into which the public is not often privileged to inquire. It is compounded of various things, in varying proportions: of argument based upon the facts of industry and of commercial interest, of promises of political support, of campaign contributions, not explicitly given upon condition, but often spoken of by way of reminder, of personal “pressure” through the channels of old friendships and new alliances,—of things too intimate to mention,—though not, I believe, even in the minds of the most cynical and suspicious, of direct bribes. There is seldom any question of personal corruption. It is wholly a question of party corruptions, so far as it is a question of corruption at all.

The “baby act” consists in resorting to the Ways and

Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate with pitiful tales, hard-luck stories, petitions for another chance, as the hosiery-makers did at the special sessions. It is an act very unpalatable to American pride, and yet very frequently indulged in with no appearance of shame. "Foreigners make better goods," is the burden of its cry, "pay smaller wages, and can add the ocean freights to their price and still beat us in our own markets." It often seems to mean that the foreigner has superior skill, uses better machinery, adapts his patterns more quickly to changing tastes, is more practised in economies of all sorts and is content with smaller profits. And so a handful of American gentlemen go to Congress and beg to be helped to make a living and support their operatives. Some among them do not need the protection: they have perfected their processes and their stuffs, can afford by better organization and more studied economies to pay American wages and still beat the foreigner, if need be, in his own markets overseas. But the rest do need it to make good their failure. American labour is the most intelligent in the world, and when intelligently made use of is worth its extra wage, earns it without affecting the market. But the Government must support those who do not know how to use it as intelligently as their rivals, and the people of the country must be made to buy the goods they make at prices that will support them. This is indeed the "baby act" and these are easily recognizable as "infant industries"!

And so the question comes to be, What will the people say of this new system of the support of favoured industries by the Government, now that they have come to understand it? For it is a new system. The principle upon which the system of protection was originally founded was the development of the country, the development of the resources of the continent and the skill of the people. That principle is intelligible and statesmanlike, particularly in a new country, without capital

and unprepared for competition in a trading world. The principle now proclaimed and acted upon, with show of patriotic fervor, is that profits must be assured to those who cannot stand competition after development, *after* the accumulation of capital in the country, the perfecting of skill and the full attainment of economic and industrial independence amidst the trading and manufacturing nations of the world. This is indeed a new theory and will not bear examination.

Hamilton's position, the position of those who have intelligently and consistently followed him, is defensible enough. It is idle to bid a new nation on an undeveloped continent to put its faith in the natural laws of trade and production, buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, build up its wealth on the demand for what it has and buy what it has not. For it has not at the outset capital enough to find out either its resources or its capacities. There must be a waiting and a spending time at the first before it finds out what its resources are and what it can do with them. The farmer cannot expect a crop the first season from unbroken prairie or uncleared land. It costs money to put nature into shape to be profitably used. Deposits of ore do not constitute riches until the mines have been opened and machinery has been installed by which the ore can be readily and economically got out. That takes time and money. Even when the mines are opened and can be worked at a profit they produce only ore. The nation that cannot use its ores in manufacture is still a poor nation, however rich its deposits. Only a few men in it will be rich until other men in it get the capital and the opportunity to use the ores in manufacture. That, again, takes time and money. South Africa was not rich because a few men owned and worked diamond mines in it. Taking the world at large and as a whole, how are you to know which is the cheapest market in which to buy or the most advantageous in which to sell, so long as a whole continent lies undeveloped, a whole

nation untrained, so long as America or South Africa has not come into the markets with its hidden stuffs and its unschooled peoples?

This is the question for statesmen. Nobody now doubts that the policy of Hamilton put the nation under a great stimulation, gave it the economic independence it needed, immensely quickened the development of its resources and the powers of its people. Protected from the direct competition of those who had already acquired capital oversea, who had already become masters of industry and put hundreds of ships upon the sea, who had the stuffs to work in and the skill to work them, things took on a very different aspect for the enterprising spirits of the young nation from that which they had worn in the old colony days. Those who cared to venture upon enterprise,—and who in America did not?—had the markets of a growing and industrious people to themselves. As the nation grew their trade grew, and their wealth,—with their wealth, their independence and their spirit of enterprise. It was wise,—in the circumstances it was more than wise, it was necessary,—to give the country an opportunity thus to find itself. It was necessary and wise to put it thus economically upon its own feet and make it worth its while to discover and develop its own resources.

It is perfectly consistent with such a policy, moreover, to give to every new enterprise, even in our day of America's abounding wealth and resourcefulness, such protection as it may need to get its start and come to its proper perfection of equipment and operation, provided it be an enterprise suitable to America's soil or resources or capacities. So far as the policy of protection has for its object the diversification and enrichment of American industry, it is admissible, dangerous though it be, because liable to be used in a spirit of favouritism and for party ends. The only thing not consistent with the sound original policy upon which the single defensible theory of the system rests is the encouragement

and support by "protection" of industries in their very nature not natural to America, but forced and artificial. Being artificial, not indigenous from the outset, they will need artificial stimulation to the end. Those who undertake them will always have to be supported out of the public purse—by the taxes laid at the ports.

But this original basis and theory of protection, this genuine enterprise of statesmanship, was long ago abandoned or forgotten by the leaders of the party that stood for the system. Its leaders no longer talk of "infant industries" to be carefully nurtured and brought to maturity for the sake of the nation and its development. They know the sort of smile with which such talk would now be received and do not relish the thought of it. They boast, rather, of the economic supremacy of America in the money-markets, the steel-markets, the foodstuff-markets, the implement and machinery markets of the world, and naïvely insist that that supremacy should be maintained by import duties at the ports levied for the sake of those who are conducting our successful enterprises, in order to keep their profits safely up and make them feel that the country (which is, being interpreted, the party in power) will take care of them. It is not a system of stimulation or development; it is a system of patronage. Statesmen need no longer debate it: politicians of very ordinary managing abilities can easily keep it going. Indeed, it is no proper job for statesmen. It is a thing of lobbies and private interviews, not a thing of open debate and public policy.

Even this bad system worked no radical harm upon the country for a generation or two. The continent abounded in every kind of natural riches, individuals were greatly stimulated by the many inviting opportunities for manufacture and trade, the population of the country was growing by leaps and bounds, its domestic markets widening with every decade, its diversified industries enriching one another. The country was generously big and wide and various, its immense stretches

extending into every climate of the temperate zone, its hills and valleys and high ascending western slopes inviting to every development of modern civilization. Its vast areas of free trade, trade absolutely without hindrance or restriction, guaranteed exemption from restraint by the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, made it an incomparable field for rapid and normal development, a development about which, it turned out, there was almost nothing that was artificial and little that was not sound and lasting.

Moreover, those who had undertaken the great industries to which the customs legislation of Congress had given leave and not yet gone into combination. Enterprise was entered upon on individual initiative, was conducted by simple partnerships and small companies. There was a very active and quickening competition within the field of each undertaking that proved profitable. Those who succeeded had no more power than their mere wit at succeeding gave them. Fortunes were made, but upon a modest scale. The rich men of the country had only their local influence and did not determine the industrial processes of a whole continent or the methods of a whole industry. The prosperity of the country wore a generous and democratic aspect and did not set classes off in sharp contrast against one another. There was favouritism in arranging the system of protection, of course, and individuals were very often thought of rather than the country as a whole. The "log-rolling" in Congress was very often spoken of in the newspapers and with a great deal of asperity. The system had its glaring faults and dangers. But it was at least a game into which almost any one could get. It did not yet wear the ugly face of monopoly or special privilege.

We look upon a very different scene now. It is no longer a scene of individual enterprise, of small bodies of capital embarked upon a thousand undertakings,—a scene of individual opportunity and individual achieve-

ment,—able men everywhere, singly or in small groups, making themselves the economic servants of communities and reaping the legitimate profit of many an enterprise their own brains had conceived. It was in that day that the industries of the country were originated and put upon a footing to succeed. In our later day those who control the great masses of capital swept together out of the multitudinous earnings of the last two or three generations have combined together and put at the head of every great industry a dominating corporation, or group of corporations, with an organization and resources which are irresistible by any individual competitor,—by any competitor not supported by a like colossal combination of brains and means. The richest of those who enjoy the favours of the Government have combined to enjoy a monopoly of those favours. Enormous fortunes are piled up for a few, for those who organize and control these great combinations; but they are relatively very few in number and all men in their field of enterprise who are not in their combination are apt to become, first their crushed rivals, and then their servants and subordinates.

It is a very different America from the old. All the recent scandals of our business history have sprung out of the discovery of the use those who directed these great combinations were making of their power: their power to crush, their power to monopolize. Their competition has not stimulated, it has destroyed. Their success has not varied industry, it has standardized it and brought it all under a single influence and regulation,—not the regulation of law, but the regulation of monopoly.

It is easy to exaggerate the iniquity of many of the things that have been done under this régime of the trust and the colossal corporation. Most of their methods were simply the old cut-throat methods of private individual competition on a new scale. What made them cruel and disastrous was not their kind, but their scope.

Their kind was as old as economic history and rivalry in industrial enterprise, but their scale was new and ominous. The competition, the underselling, the aggressive canvassing, the rival expenditure and rapid improvement of process possible to these men who had vast capital behind them, who shipped so much that every railroad stood ready to bid for their patronage with lowered rates, who could buy a competitor out at any price and stood always ready to buy at the moment of greatest strain and discouragement, could not be withstood. The field cleared before them. The power was theirs, and smaller men, smaller concerns, went down before them. They had "cornered" the opportunity which the Government's favouring legislation had been intended to create.

Too much moral blame, it seems to me, has been laid upon the men who effected these stupendous changes. They were men of extraordinary genius, many of them, capable of creating and organizing States and Empires. Commercial morals had not been adjusted, by themselves or any one else, to the new and unprecedented scale upon which they did business. Private consciences were pooled and confused and swallowed up in those huge combinations. Men were excited and blinded by the vast object they sought, and pursued it, as it were, impersonally, by means they would not have used had they been dealing simply and face to face with persons and not merely upon paper with complex transactions, involving the business of a continent. It was a process in which commercial morals had again to find themselves, as in the days of treasure fleets and international spoliation.

But my present object is not to assess individual responsibility. I am describing conditions, not drawing up an indictment against those who created them or framing an excuse for them. I am studying a national policy and its effects; and about that, viewed in its

present aspects, some things are very plain and ought to be plainly spoken of.

In the first place, it is plain that these new masters of our industry do not need the assistance or the "protection" of the Government. They own or control a preponderant percentage of the resources of the country: of its mines, its forests, its cattle, its railways. They have brought the industries they control to a high state of perfection in equipment and organization, economizing their processes and improving their output. They have invaded foreign markets and sell to all the world, where there is no Government to assist them, where, on the contrary, there are hostile tariffs to overcome. They have made themselves entire masters of the opportunity created for them. Manufacturers engaged in the same lines of industry elsewhere copy their machinery and imitate their methods. All the world is justly jealous of their huge success. Their balance-sheets, on the one hand, and the success and skill of their processes, on the other, show how little they need protection.

In the second place, no political party can afford to be their partners in business. It amounts to that. In the earlier days of protection, when import duties created opportunities for thousands of men, the political party that maintained the system of protection had all the nation for partner. The benefits of the system were widely distributed. Its beneficiaries could nowhere be assembled in a single lobby. Their names could be included in no possible list. They were the people of the country by sample. But now, as compared with the former thousands, they are few. The names of most of them are known everywhere. Their influence is direct, personal, pervasive.

They are doing nothing novel through the lobby. It is just what the beneficiaries of this dangerous system have always done. It would seem the natural process of obtaining protection,—to ask for it and argue its necessity with the figures of the business in hand. But

they are so few, so individually powerful, and command so many things that political parties need, or think that they need, for their success: money, widely-extended influence, the gift and the use of business organization national in their scope and control! They have as powerful a machinery ready to their hand as the Government itself. It is highly dangerous for the Government to be in partnership with them in the great enterprise of developing the country: their grip upon it can so easily become too direct and personal! The country cannot afford an alliance of private interest with governmental authority, for whatever purpose originally conceived, however honourably arranged at the outset. No body of business men, no political party, can long withstand the demoralizing influences of the relationship,—particularly no body of men so compact and unified in interest as those who manage and finance the trusts.

It is not necessary for my argument to claim or to prove that high protection created the trusts and combinations of our time. I believe that it can be shown that it did, though I am ready to admit that they might, and probably would, have arisen in any case, though in a different form and with different proportions. But that is a complicated question which may for the present be put upon one side. Certainly the trusts have now cornered the opportunities created by the system of high tariffs. They no longer need the assistance of the Government; and it is highly desirable that there should be no alliance, and no appearance of an alliance, between them and either of the political parties.

That our industries are still greatly stimulated is evident enough. They are very vital and very prosperous. There is general employment; and when things go well and the money-market is not manipulated, or upset by our uncommonly bad system of currency, there is a general feeling of ease and hopefulness. But there is not general prosperity: that is a very different matter. When the great industrial and trade combinations can

operate freely and without fear of disturbed prices and a frightened money-market there is always ready enough employment for those who seek it,—at wages forced up and maintained, not by prosperity or the good business of the great corporations, but by the aggressiveness and determination of organized labour. The country is given occupation by those who have cornered the privileges to be had under the favour of Congress, and their success is easily made to look like the reign of unbounded opportunity for the rank and file; but that does not increase the proportion of employers to employees. The initiative and control are still with the few. Their money makes the mare go, and it is they who ride.

It does not do to think of these things with bitterness. It is not just to think of them with bitterness. They came about by natural process, not by deliberate or malignant plan. But it is necessary to point them out in plain language, to discuss them with candour and to comprehend them, when the talk is done, with wide-open eyes. It is easy to fall into exaggeration. Not all the industry of the country is in the hands of great trusts and combinations. Only its main undertakings are its largest and most lucrative enterprises. But the picture I have drawn is, in the rough, true and tends from decade to decade to represent the truth more and more perfectly and completely. If the tendency had worked itself out to its ultimate consequences, if it had accomplished its perfect work, it would probably be too late for reform. The body politic is still sound and still elastic enough to work upon; and many of the very men who have profited most by this new and ominous state of affairs are ready to join in the wholesome processes of reformation which will make opportunity general again,—not a monopoly, but a universal stimulus.

The fact which has disclosed itself to us, in these later days of the country's awakening, is this, then. We have witnessed the partial creation, the almost com-

plete creation, on the one hand, of a comparatively small privileged class or body of men, the men who control capital and the uses to which it is put and who have, as the representatives (as all too literally the representatives) of the business of the country, the ear of Congressional committees; and we begin to see, under them, associated with them, on the other hand, a vast unprivileged body ("class" is too definite and formal a word) which forces its way to a share in the benefits of our apparently prosperous conditions only by threats and strikes, and is steadily deprived of a large percentage of what it thus gains by rapidly rising prices which day by day increase the cost of living amongst us. And the rise of prices itself seems to be connected with the system.

There has been a rise in prices in almost all the trading countries. The large recent increase in the supply of gold has had a great deal to do with it, here as elsewhere. Gold, the world's standard of value, having become cheaper because more abundant, more of it is demanded in exchange for goods, whose value has not changed. But this universal phenomenon of the rise of prices has had its special features and vagaries in America utterly dissociated from the price of gold; and it would be easy to prove that those who have managed to get control of the greater part of the output of the mines and factories have, by combination, set the prices to please themselves. They have made the usual use of their opportunity. While the Government has, by its high protective policy, spared them the anxiety of foreign competition, they have, by organization and agreement, spared themselves the embarrassment of any competition at all.

What, then, shall we do? Shall we adopt Thorough as our motto and sweep the whole system away, be quit of privilege and favours at once, put our industries upon their own resources and centre national legislation wholly upon the business of the nation? By no means.

The system cannot be suddenly destroyed. That would bring our whole economic life into radical danger. The existing system was built up by statesmanlike and patriotic men, upon a theory upon which even the most sceptical economist must concede it possible to found a valid and effective policy. It is very likely that by slower, sounder, less artificial means the country might have worked its way up to the same extraordinary development and success, the same overwhelming material achievement and power; but that is a question no longer worth debate by practical men. As a matter of fact, the method of artificial stimulation was adopted, has been persisted in from generation to generation with a constant increase of the stimulation, and we have at last, by means of it, come to our present case. It will not do to reverse such a policy suddenly or in revolutionary fashion.

It must in some conservative way be altered from decade to decade, if possible from year to year, until we shall have put all customs legislation upon a safe, reasonable and permanent footing. A process of alteration, steadily and courageously persisted in, will not disturb the business or embarrass the industries of the country, even if tariff act follows tariff act from session to session, if it be founded upon a definite principle by which its progress may be forecast and made ready for. Such a principle must be found. And the nation must find means to insist that, whatever party is in power, that principle shall be followed with courage, intelligence and integrity. The present method and principle of legislation does not keep business equable or free from harassing anxiety. It is based upon no principle, except that of self-interest,—which is no principle at all. No calculable policy can be derived from it. Discussion gives place to intrigue, and nothing is ever fixed or settled by its application.

What, then, shall the principle of reform be which shall hold us steady to an impartial and intelligible

process? The old principle of Hamilton, in a new form and application: the very principle upon which the protective policy was set up, but applied for the purpose of reforming the system and bringing it to the test of a single definite object, its original purpose and energy having been fulfilled and spent.

Hamilton's purpose was to develop America, to give her industries of her own; to make it immediately worth the while of her enterprising and energetic men to discover and use her natural resources, the richness and extent of which even he never dreamed of; to enrich and expand her trade and give her an interior economic development which should make her an infinitely various market within herself; and to continue the stimulation until her statesmen should be sure that she had found her full vigour and capacity, was mistress of her own wealth and opportunity, and was ready to play her independent part in the competitions and achievements of the world. That object has been attained. No man not blinded by some personal interest or inveterate prepossession can doubt it. What would Hamilton do now?

In one sense, it is not a question of politics. It does not involve Hamilton's theories of Government or of constitutional interpretation. Some of us are Jeffersonians, not Hamiltonians, in political creed and principle, and would not linger long over the question, What shall we do to return safely to Hamilton? It is not a Hamiltonian question. Constitutional lawyers long ago determined that it was certainly within the choice of Congress to lay import duties, if it pleased, with a view to the incidental benefit of traders and manufacturers within the country; and, if that incidental object has in later days become the chief and only guiding object of the rates of duty, that, I take it, is only a question of more or less, not a question which cuts so deep as to affect the power of Congress or draw it seriously into debate again. As a matter of fact, the policy was

entered upon and has been carried—to what lengths we know. The Hamiltonian principle, not a political, but an economic principle, was the only wise and defensible principle upon which it could have been established. It is also the only wise and safe principle upon which it can be modified and in part got rid of. For when you have the general benefit of the country as your standard, you have a principle upon which it is as legitimate to withdraw protection as to give it.

It may seem like a vague principle, affording room for many varieties of contrary judgment; but it will be found to lose its vagueness when stated in contrast with the principle upon which Congress has acted in recent years. In all the recent tariff legislation of the country, in all legislation since 1828, the committees of the House and Senate, when making up the several schedules of duties they were to propose, have asked, not what will be good for the country, but what will be good for the industries affected, what can they stand, what rates of duty will assure them abundant profits? It is true that they have assumed,—it has been the burden of innumerable weary campaign speeches,—that the prosperity of the individual interest considered would be the prosperity of the country; but the poor sophistry of that argument has long been commonplace. By hard, desperately hard, use that assumption has been worn through to the thread. It must be replaced by new and sounder stuff. No doubt you can say to the country, "Feed and sustain these corporations and they will employ you: feed your employers out of the taxes and they, in turn, will give you work and feed you." But no candid student of this great question can now confidently believe that a policy which has the profits of the manufacturers as its main object is likely to promote the impartial, natural, wholesome, symmetrical, general development of the country.

The men who happen to possess the field do not constitute the nation; they do not even represent it when

they speak of their own interest. We have taught them, by our petting, to regard their own interest as the interest of the country; but the two are by no means necessarily identical. They may be, they may not be. It is a question of fact to be looked into. Their prosperity and success may or may not benefit the country as a whole. Even if the country be indisputably benefited, it might be still more highly benefited by the promotion of an entirely different interest. What the fact is may depend upon many circumstances. It is those circumstances we are bound to look into, if we be indeed statesmen and patriots, asking not what the protected interests want or can prove that they need, but what it is to the general interest of the country to do: whether some interests have not been too much favoured, given a dominance not at all compatible either with honest politics or wholesome economic growth. In brief, we are now face to face with a great question of fact. What part of the protective system still benefits the country and is in the general interest; what part is unnecessary; what part is pure favouritism and the basis of dangerous and demoralizing special privilege? These are the questions which should underlie a tariff policy. No other questions are pertinent or admissible.

"The benefit of the country" is a big phrase. What do you mean by it? What do you mean by "the country"? *Whom* do you mean by it? If you are honest and sincere, you mean the people of the country, its sections and varieties of climate and population taken, not separately or by their voting strength, but together; its men and women of every rank and quality and circumstance; its bone and sinew. If any particular industry has been given its opportunity to establish itself and get its normal development, under cover of the customs, and is still unable to meet the foreign competition which is the standard of its efficiency, it is unjust to tax the people of the country any further to support it. Wherever the advantages accorded by a tariff have

resulted in giving those who control the greater part of the output of a particular industry the chance, after their individual success has been achieved, to combine and "corner" the advantage, those advantages ought to be withdrawn; and the presumption is that every industry thus controlled has had the support of the Government as long as it should have it.

There is something more than the economic activities of the country to be considered. There is its moral soundness; the variety, not of employment, but of opportunity for individual initiative and action which the policy of its law creates; the standards of business its trades and manufactures observe and are gauged by; and the connection which exists between its successful business men and its Government. By these significant matters should the tariff policy of Congress be judged, as well as by the tests of successful business.

Only those undertakings should be given the protection of high duties on imports which are manifestly suited to the country and as yet undeveloped or only imperfectly developed. From all the rest protection should be withdrawn, the object of the Government being, not to support its citizens in business, but to promote the full energy and development of the country. Existing protection should not be suddenly withdrawn, but steadily and upon a fixed programme upon which every man of business can base his definite forecasts and systematic plans. For the rest, the object of customs taxation should be revenue for the Government. The Federal Government should depend for its revenue chiefly on taxes of this kind, because the greater part of the field of direct taxation must be left to the States. It must raise abundant revenue, therefore, from customs duties. But it should choose for taxation the things which are not of primary necessity to the people in their lives or their industry, things, for the most part, which they can do without without suffering or actual privation. If taxes levied upon these do not

suffice, the things added should be those which it would cause them the least inconvenience or suffering to dispense with. Customs thus laid and with such objects will be found to yield more, and the people will be freer.

There is no real difficulty about finding how and where to lay such taxes when once a just principle has been agreed upon, if statesmen have the desire to find it. The only trouble is to ascertain the facts in a very complex economic system. Honest inquiry will soon find them out, and honest men will readily enough act upon them, if they be not only honest, but also courageous, true lovers of justice and of their country.

THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY

FROM MR. WILSON'S ORIGINAL TYPEWRITTEN MANUSCRIPT WITH HIS PEN AND INK CORRECTIONS, DATED "PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, 6 JULY, 1909," AND SIGNED WITH HIS AUTOGRAPH. PUBLISHED IN THE "DELINEATOR," NOVEMBER, 1909, VOL. LXXIV, P. 401.

THE word University means, in our careless usage, so many different things that almost every time one employs it it seems necessary to define it. Nowhere has it so many meanings as in America, where institutions of all kinds display it in the titles they bestow upon themselves. School, college, and university are readily enough distinguishable in fact by those who take the pains to look into the scope and methods of their teaching; but they are quite indistinguishable, oftentimes, in name. They are as apt as not all to bear the same title.

But practice is always the best definer; and practice is slowly working out for us in America a sufficiently definite idea of what a university is. It is not the same idea that has been worked out in England or Germany or France. American universities will probably, when worked out to the logical fulfillment of their natural development, show a type distinct from all others. They will be distinctive of what America has thought out and done in the field of higher education. Those which are already far advanced in their development even now exhibit an individual and characteristic organization.

The American university as we now see it consists of many parts. At its heart stands the college, the school

of general training. Above and around the college stand the graduate and technical schools, in which special studies are prosecuted and preparation is given for particular professions and occupations. Technical and professional schools are not a necessary part of a university, but they are greatly benefited by close association with a university and the university itself is unmistakably benefited and quickened by the transmission of its energy into them and the reaction of their standards and objects upon it. As a rule the larger universities of the country have law schools, divinity schools, and medical schools under their care and direction; and training for these, the "learned," professions has long been considered a natural part of their work.

Schools of mechanical, electrical, and civil engineering have of late years become as numerous and as necessary as the schools which prepare for the older professions, and they have naturally in most cases grown up in connection with universities because their processes are the processes of science and the modern university is, among other things, a school of pure science, with laboratories and teachers indispensable to the engineer. But the spirit of technical schools has not always been the spirit of learning. They have often been intensely and very frankly utilitarian, and pure science has looked at them askance. They are proper parts of a university only when pure science is of the essence of their teaching, the spirit of pure science the spirit of all their studies. It is only of recent years that we have seen thoughtful engineers coming to recognize this fact, preach this change of spirit; it is only of recent years, therefore, that technical schools have begun to be thoroughly and truly assimilated into the university organization.

There is an ideal at the heart of everything American, and the ideal at heart of the American university is intellectual training, the awakening of the whole man, the thorough introduction of the student to the life

of America and of the modern world, the completion of the task undertaken by the grammar and high schools of equipping him for the full duties of citizenship. It is with that idea that I have said that the college stands at the heart of the American university. The college stands for liberal training. Its object is discipline and enlightenment. The average thoughtful American does not want his son narrowed in all his gifts and thinking to a particular occupation. He wishes him to be made free of the world in which men think about and understand many things, and to know how to handle himself in it. He desires a training for him which will give him a considerable degree of elasticity and adaptability, and fit him to turn in any direction he chooses. For men do not live in ruts in America. They do not always or of necessity follow the callings their fathers followed before them. They are ready to move this way or that as interest or occasion suggests. Versatility, adaptability, a wide range of powers, a quick and easy variation of careers, men excelling in businesses for which they never had any special preparation,—these are among the most characteristic marks of American life,—its elasticity and variety, the rapid shifting of parts, the serviceability of the same men for many different things, and the quick intelligence of men of many different kinds in the common undertakings of politics and in public affairs of all kinds. If the American college were to become a vocational school, preparing only for particular callings, it would be thoroughly un-American. It would be serving special, not general, needs and seeking to create a country of specialized men without versatility or general capacity.

The college of the ideal American university, therefore, is a place intended for general intellectual discipline and enlightenment; and not for intellectual discipline and enlightenment only, but also for moral and spiritual discipline and enlightenment. America is great,

not by reason of her skill, but by reason of her spirit, her spirit of general serviceableness and intelligence. That is the reason why it is necessary to keep her colleges under constant examination and criticism. If we do not they may forget their own true function, which is to supply America and the professions with enlightened men.

I have described the university as a place with a college at its heart but with graduate schools and professional schools standing above and around the college. The difficulty about thus associating teaching of different kinds is that the spirit of the graduate and professional schools should not be the same spirit as that of the college, and that there are certain dangers of infection to which the college and the schools of advanced and professional study are both alike exposed by the association. Look, first, at the danger to the college. It is in danger of getting the point of view of the graduate and professional schools: the point of view of those who prosecute study very intensively along special lines. Their object, if they be thorough, is technical scholarship. That should not be the object of the college. Its studies, as America has conceived the college (and I am sure she has conceived it rightly), are not prosecuted with a view to scholarship. Scholarship cannot be had at the age of twenty-one, at the age at which youngsters graduate from college. They may by that time have been made to see the way, the arduous way, to scholarship and to desire to travel it; but they cannot have travelled it. It is a long road. A lifetime is consumed before one reaches the quiet inn at the end of it. The object of the college is a much simpler one; and yet no less great. It is to give intellectual discipline and impart the spirit of learning.

We have misconceived and misused the college as an instrument of American life when we have organized and used it as a place of special preparation for particular tasks and callings. It is for liberal training, for

ministers, lawyers would all alike be made, first of all, citizens of the modern intellectual and social world,—first of all university men, with a broad outlook on the various knowledge of the world,—and these experts in a great practical profession, which they would understand all the better because they had first been grounded in science and in the other great bodies of knowledge which are the fountains of all practices. That is the service the university owes the professional schools associated with it. Its parts should be vitally united from end to end.

The professional schools, in their turn, do the university this distinct and very great service, ^{that} they keep it in conscious association with the practical world, its necessities and its problems. Through them it better understands what knowledge, what kind of men, what scholarship, what morals, what action will best ^{serve} ~~serve~~ the age for whose enlightenment and assistance it exists. Our universities should be "ideal" chiefly in this, that they serve the intellectual needs of the age, not in one thing, not in any one way only, but all around the circle, with a verities and universal adaptability to their age and generations. America can never dispense with the ~~general~~ enlightenment of general study, and should wish to have as many of her young men as possible subjected to its influences. She should demand that her professional schools be grounded in such studies, in order that her professional men may see something more than individual interest in what they do. It is best, therefore, that ^{professional} ~~these~~ schools should be closely associated with universities, a part of their vital organization, intimate parts of their system of study. That very association and inclusion should make them more thorough in their particular practical tasks. They should be the better schools of technical training. The ideal university is rounded out by them, and their roots are enriched by her fertile soil of ^{catholic} knowledge and inquiry. The ideal university would consist of all these parts, associated in this spirit, maintained always in this relationship.

Woodrow Wilson

Princeton University,
6 July, 1929.

FACSIMILE OF A CHARACTERISTIC WILSON MANUSCRIPT
The end of the original typewritten script of "The Ideal University."

general discipline, for that preliminary general enlightenment which every man should have who enters modern life with any intelligent hope or purpose of leadership and achievement. By a liberal training I do not mean one which vainly seeks to introduce undergraduates to every subject of modern learning. That would, of course, be impossible. There are too many of them. At best the pupil can, within the four years at the disposal of the college, be introduced to them only by sample. He can be, and should be, given a thorough grounding in mathematics, in his own language and in some language not his own, in one of the fundamental physical and natural sciences, in the general conceptions of philosophy, in the outlines of history, and in the elements of correct political thinking; and it is very desirable that he should go beneath the surface in some one of these subjects, study it with more than usual attention and thoroughness, and find in it, if he can, some independence of judgment and inquiry. Students in a modern college cannot all follow the same road, and it is not desirable that they should do so. Besides the thorough drill in a few fundamental subjects which they should all have, they should be allowed and encouraged to make the special, individual choices of particular fields of study which will give them an opportunity to develop special gifts and aptitudes and which will call out their powers of initiative and enable them to discover themselves. The college should be a place of various studies, alive with a great many different interests.

The common discipline should come from very hard work, from the inexorable requirement that every student should perform every task set him, whether general or special, whether of his own choice or exacted by the general scheme of study prescribed for all, with care and thoroughness. The spirit of work should pervade the place, honest, diligent, painstaking work. Otherwise it would certainly be no proper place of

preparation for the strenuous, exacting life of America in our day. Its "liberalizing" influences should be got from its life, even more than from its studies. Special studies become liberal when those who are pursuing them associate constantly and familiarly with those who are pursuing other studies, studies of many kinds, pursued from many points of view. The real enlightenments of life come, not from tasks or from books, so much as from free intercourse with other persons who, in spite of you, inform and stimulate you, and make you realize how big and various the world is, how many things there are in it to think about, and how necessary it is to think about the subjects you are specially interested in in their right relation to many, many others, if you would think of them correctly and get to the bottom of what you are trying to do.

The ideal college, therefore, should be a community, a place of close, natural, intimate association, not only of the young men who are its pupils and novices in various lines of study but also of young men with older men, with maturer men, with veterans and professionals in the great undertakings of learning, of teachers with pupils, outside the classroom as well as inside of it. No one is successfully educated within the walls of any particular classroom or laboratory or museum; and no amount of association, however close and familiar and delightful, between mere beginners can ever produce the sort of enlightenment which the lad gets when first he begins to catch the infection of learning. The trouble with most of our colleges nowadays is that the faculty of the college live one life and the undergraduates quite a different one. They are not members of the same community; they constitute two communities. The life of the undergraduate is not touched with the personal influence of the teacher; life among the teachers is not touched by the personal impressions which should come from frequent and intimate contact with undergraduates. The teacher does not often enough know what

the undergraduate is thinking about, or what models he is forming his life upon, and the undergraduate does not know how human a fellow the teacher is, how delightfully he can talk, outside the classroom, of the subjects he is most interested in, how many interesting things both his life and his studies illustrate and make attractive. This separation need not exist, and in the college of the ideal university would not exist.

It is perfectly possible to organize the life of our colleges in such a way that students and teachers alike will take part in it; in such a way that a perfectly natural daily intercourse will be established between them; and it is only by such an organization that they can be given real vitality as places of serious training, be made communities in which youngsters will come fully to realize how interesting intellectual work is, how vital, how important, how closely associated with all modern achievement,—only by such an organization that study can be made to seem a part of life itself. Lectures often seem very formal and empty things; recitations generally prove very dull and unrewarding. It is in conversation and natural intercourse with scholars, chiefly, that you find how lively knowledge is, how it ties into everything that is interesting and important, how intimate a part it is of everything that is “practical” and connected with the world of affairs. Men are not always made thoughtful by books; but they are generally made thoughtful by association with men who think.

The present and most pressing problem of our university authorities is to bring about this vital association for the benefit of the novices of the university world, the undergraduates. Classroom methods are thorough enough; competent scholars already lecture and expound and set tasks and superintend their performance; but the life of the average undergraduate outside the classroom and outside of his other stated appointments with his instructors is not very much affected by his studies, is almost entirely dissociated from intellectual

interests, is too freely and exclusively given over to athletics and amusement. Athletics are in themselves wholesome, and are necessary to every normal youth. They give him vigour and should give him the spirit of the sportsman,—should keep him out of many things of a very demoralizing sort which he would be inclined to do if he did not spend his energy out-of-doors and in the gymnasium. Amusement, too, is necessary. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, not only, but a very unserviceable boy, besides, with no ginger or spirit in him, no alertness, no capacity to vary his occupations or to make the most of himself. But athletics and mere amusement ought never to become serious and absorbing occupations, even with youngsters. They should be diversions merely, by which the strain of work is relieved, the powers refreshed and given spontaneous play. The only way in which they can be given their proper subordination is to associate them with things which are not only more important but quite as natural and interesting. Knowledge, study, intellectual effort will seem to undergraduates more important than athletics and amusement and just as natural only when older men, themselves vital and interesting and companionable, are thrown into close daily association with them. The spirit of learning can be conveyed only by contagion, and contagion occurs only by personal contact. The association of studies and persons is the proper prescription.

Turn from the college, which lies at the heart of the university, to the graduate and professional schools which lie about the college and are built upon it, and you are discussing an entirely different matter, looking for different principles and methods. This right relationship to the college, moreover, is a very difficult question to determine. Both the college and the high school are trying to do two things at once,—two things not entirely consistent with one another. The majority of pupils in the high school, the very large majority, do

not intend to carry their studies any further, do not intend to go beyond the high school to college. They must get all the schooling they are going to get before they leave the high school. They must be given the best training, the completest awakening within the field of knowledge, that the school can give them, for that is to be their final preparation for life. A small minority, however, must be prepared to enter college and to go further with their studies. Majority and minority must be handled, in such circumstances, in different ways, and it is very hard indeed to arrange the courses of study in a way that will be suitable for both. The high school is clearly justified in shaping its policy and its methods of instruction to the needs, first of all, of the majority. Exceptional arrangements must be made, if possible, for the minority. Similarly, in the college the great majority of undergraduates mean to go at once from their courses there into some active practical pursuit; do not mean to go on to more advanced university studies. A minority, on the other hand,—a larger minority than in the schools,—do intend to go further, will enter the graduate schools to become teachers and investigators or the technical and professional schools to fit themselves for some calling for which a special training is necessary. The difficulty of the college is to arrange courses and adopt methods which will serve both these classes of students. It does so, generally, by offering a much larger choice of studies than it is possible or desirable for the school to offer. But the majority must determine its chief characteristics and adaptations. Its chief object must be general preparation, general training, an all-round awakening of the faculties.

It is evident, therefore, that the college, while it should be the foundation of the professional schools, not only stands below them, as their support and feeder, but also alongside of them,—would be necessary if they did not exist; furnishes the only introduction our

young men desire or need get to the wider fields of action and experience which lie beyond it. It is first of all and chiefly a general fitting school for life. Its social organization and influence are almost as important as its classrooms. It is not a subordinate school, but the chief, the central school of the university. For the professional schools it is, at the same time, an indispensable foundation. That profession is clearly impoverished which does not draw to its special studies men bred to understand life and the broader relations of their profession in some thorough school of general training. In these higher schools the atmosphere is changed; another set of objects lies before the student; his mind has already begun to centre upon tasks which will fill the rest of his life. He cannot after entering upon that discipline seek the things that will connect him with the more general fields of learning and experience.

What is called the Graduate School in our American universities is not, strictly speaking, a professional school. As a matter of fact most of its pupils will be found to be looking forward to the profession of teaching; but graduate schools of the higher type do not keep that profession in mind in their instruction. Their object is to train scholars, whether in the field of literature, or science, or philosophy, or in the apparently more practical field of politics. They carry the college process a stage further and seek to induct their students into the precise, exacting methods of scholarship. They not only carry the college process further, they also alter it. Their students are thrown more upon their own resources in their studies: are expected to enter on researches of their own, strike out into independent lines of inquiry, stand upon their own feet in every investigation, come out of their novitiate and gain a certain degree of mastery in their chosen field, their professors being little more than their guides and critics. They are not taught how to teach: there is no professional

tone in the life of the school. They are taught how to learn, thoroughly and independently, and to make scholars of themselves.

Schools of medicine, law, and theology, on the other hand, while also, when upon a proper plane, schools of scholarship, are professional schools, and have in all their instruction the professional point of view. Their object is not only to introduce their students to the mastery of certain subjects, as the graduate school does, but also to prepare them for the "practice" of a particular profession. They devote a great deal of attention, therefore, to practical method,—to the ways in which the knowledge acquired in them is to be used in dealing with diseases, with disputes between men at loggerheads over their legal rights, and with the needs and interests of men who should be helped with spiritual counsel and guidance. They are frankly and of necessity professional. The spirit of the doctor's or of the lawyer's office, of the pulpit and of the pastor's study, pervades them. They school their men for particular tasks, very complicated and very difficult, and seek to guide them by many practical maxims.

Similarly, the technical schools, the schools of engineering and of the mechanic arts, the schools of applied science, are professional schools, their objects practical, definite, utilitarian. Their students must not only know science and have their feet solidly upon the footing of exact knowledge, but must also acquire a very thorough mastery of methods, a definite skill and practice, readiness and precision in a score of mechanical processes which make of them a sort of master workmen. The practical air of the shop pervades such schools, as the practical air of the office pervades the law school. They are intent upon business, and are conscious all the time that they must make ready for it in a very thorough fashion.

In the professional schools of an ideal university nothing of this practical spirit would be abated,—for

such schools are one and all intensely and immediately practical in their object and must have practice always in mind if they would be truly serviceable; but there would always lie back of their work, by close association with the studies of the university in pure science and in all the great subjects which underlie law and theology, the impulse and the informing spirit of disinterested inquiry, of study, which has no utilitarian object but seeks only the truth. The spirit of graduate study, and of undergraduate, too, would be carried over into all professional work, and engineers, doctors, ministers, lawyers would all alike be made, first of all, citizens of the modern intellectual and social world,—first of all university men, with a broad outlook on the various knowledge of the world,—and then experts in a great practical profession, which they would understand all the better because they had first been grounded in science and in the other great bodies of knowledge which are the fountains of all practice. That is the service the university owes the professional schools associated with it. Its parts should be vitally united from end to end.

The professional schools, in their turn, do the university this distinct and very great service, that they keep it in conscious association with the practical world, its necessities and its problems. Through them it better understands what knowledge, what kind of men, what scholarship, what morals, what action will best serve the age for whose enlightenment and assistance it exists. Our universities should be "ideal" chiefly in this, that they serve the intellectual needs of the age, not in one thing, not in any one way only, but all around the circle, with a various and universal adaptation to their age and generation. America can never dispense with the enlightenment of general study, and should wish to have as many of her young men as possible subjected to its influences. She should demand that her professional schools be grounded in such studies, in order that her

professional men may see something more than individual interest in what they do. It is best, therefore, that professional schools should be closely associated with universities, a part of their vital organization, intimate parts of their system of study. That very association and inclusion should make them more thorough in their particular practical tasks. They should be the better schools of technical training. The ideal university is rounded out by them, and their roots are enriched by her fertile soil of catholic knowledge and inquiry. The ideal university would consist of all these parts, associated in this spirit, maintained always in this relationship.

WHAT IS A COLLEGE FOR?

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IT may seem singular that at this time of day and in this confident century it should be necessary to ask, What is a college for? But it has become necessary. I take it for granted that there are few real doubts concerning the question in the minds of those who look at the college from the inside and have made themselves responsible for the realization of its serious purposes; but there are many divergent opinions held concerning it by those who, standing on the outside, have pondered the uses of the college in the life of the country; and their many varieties of opinion may very well have created a confusion of counsel in the public mind.

They are, of course, entirely entitled to their independent opinions and have a right to expect that full consideration will be given what they say by those who are in fact responsible. The college is for the use of the nation, not for the satisfaction of those who administer it or for the carrying out of their private views. They may speak as experts and with a very intimate knowledge, but they also speak as servants of the country and must be challenged to give reasons for the convictions they entertain. Controversy, it may be, is not profitable in such matters, because it is so easy, in the face of opposition, to become a partisan of one's own views and exaggerate them in seeking to vindicate and establish them; but an explicit profession of faith cannot fail to clear the air, and to assist the thinking both of those who are responsible and of those who only look on and seek to make serviceable comment.

Why, then, should a man send his son to college when school is finished; or why should he advise any youngster in whom he is interested to go to college? What does he expect and desire him to get there? The question might be carried back and asked with regard to the higher schools also to which lads resort for preparation for college. What are they meant to get there? But it will suffice to centre the question on the college. What should a lad go to college for,—for work, for the realization of a definite aim, for discipline and a severe training of his faculties, or for relaxation, for the release and exercise of his social powers, for the broadening effects of life in a sort of miniature world in which study is only one among many interests? That is not the only alternative suggested by recent discussions. They also suggest a sharp alternative with regard to the character of the study the college student should undertake. Should he seek at college a general discipline of his faculties, a general awakening to the issues and interests of the modern world, or should he, rather, seek specially and definitely to prepare himself for the work he expects to do after he leaves college, for his support and advancement in the world? The two alternatives are very different. The one asks whether the lad does not get as good a preparation for modern life by being manager of a football team with a complicated programme of intercollegiate games and trips away from home as by becoming proficient in mathematics or in history and mastering the abstract tasks of the mind; the other asks whether he is not better prepared by being given the special skill and training of a particular calling or profession, an immediate drill in the work he is to do after he graduates, than by being made a master of his own mind in the more general fields of knowledge to which his subsequent calling will be related, in all probability, only as every undertaking is related to the general thought and experience of the world.

"Learning" is not involved. No one has ever dreamed of imparting learning to undergraduates. It cannot be done in four years. To become a man of learning is the enterprise of a lifetime. The issue does not rise to that high ground. The question is merely this: do we wish college to be, first of all and chiefly, a place of mental discipline or only a school of general experience; and, if we wish it to be a place of mental discipline, of what sort do we wish the discipline to be,—a general awakening and release of the faculties, or a preliminary initiation into the drill of a particular vocation?

These are questions which go to the root of the matter. They admit of no simple and confident answer. Their roots spring out of life and all its varied sources. To reply to them, therefore, involves an examination of modern life and an assessment of the part an educated man ought to play in it,—an analysis which no man may attempt with perfect self-confidence. The life of our day is a very complex thing which no man can pretend to comprehend in its entirety.

But some things are obvious enough concerning it. There is an uncommon challenge to effort in the modern world, and all the achievements to which it challenges are uncommonly difficult. Individuals are yoked together in modern enterprise by a harness which is both new and inelastic. The man who understands only some single process, some single piece of work which he has been set to do, will never do anything else, and is apt to be deprived at almost any moment of the opportunity to do even that, because processes change, industry undergoes instant revolutions. New inventions, fresh discoveries, alterations in the markets of the world throw accustomed methods and the men who are accustomed to them out of date and use without pause or pity. The man of special skill may be changed into an unskilled laborer overnight. Moreover, it is a day in which no enterprise stands alone or independent, but is related to every other and feels changes in all parts

of the globe. The men with mere skill, with mere technical knowledge, will be mere servants perpetually, and may at any time become useless servants, their skill gone out of use and fashion. The particular thing they do may become unnecessary or may be so changed that they cannot comprehend or adjust themselves to the change.

These, then, are the things the modern world must have in its trained men, and I do not know where else it is to get them if not from its educated men and the occasional self-developed genius of an exceptional man here and there. It needs, at the top, not a few, but many men with the power to organize and guide. The college is meant to stimulate in a considerable number of men what would be stimulated in only a few if we were to depend entirely upon nature and circumstance. Below the ranks of generalship and guidance, the modern world needs for the execution of its varied and difficult business a very much larger number of men with great capacity and readiness for the rapid and concentrated exertion of a whole series of faculties: planning faculties as well as technical skill, the ability to handle men as well as to handle tools and correct processes, faculties of adjustment and adaptation as well as of precise execution,—men of resource as well as knowledge. These are the athletes, the athletes of faculty, of which our generation most stands in need. All through its ranks, besides, it needs masterful men who can acquire a working knowledge of many things readily, quickly, intelligently, and with exactness,—things they had not foreseen or prepared themselves for beforehand, and for which they could not have prepared themselves beforehand. Quick apprehension, quick comprehension, quick action are what modern life puts a premium upon,—a readiness to turn this way or that and not lose force or momentum.

To me, then, the question seems to be, Shall the lad who goes to college go there for the purpose of getting ready to be a servant merely, a servant who will be no-

body and who may become useless, or shall he go there for the purpose of getting ready to be a master adventurer in the field of modern opportunity?

We must expect hewers of wood and drawers of water to come out of the colleges in their due proportion, of course, but I take it for granted that even the least gifted of them did not go to college with the ambition to be nothing more. And yet one has hardly made the statement before he begins to doubt whether he can safely take anything for granted. Part of the very question we are discussing is the ambition with which young men now go to college. It is a day when a college course has become fashionable,—but not for the purpose of learning, not for the purpose of obtaining a definite preparation for anything,—no such purpose could become *fashionable*. The clientage of our colleges has greatly changed since the time when most of the young men who resorted to them did so with a view to entering one or other of the learned professions. Young men who expect to go into business of one kind or another now outnumber among our undergraduates those who expect to make some sort of learning the basis of their work throughout life; and I dare say that they generally go to college without having made any very definite analysis of their aim and purpose in going. Their parents seem to have made as little.

The enormous increase of wealth in the country in recent years, too, has had its effect upon the colleges,—not in the way that might have been expected,—not, as yet, by changing the standard of life to any very noticeable extent or introducing luxury and extravagance and vicious indulgence. College undergraduates have usually the freshness of youth about them, out of which there springs a wholesome simplicity, and it is not easy to spoil them or to destroy their natural democracy. They make a life of their own and insist upon the maintenance of its standards. But the increase of wealth has brought into the colleges, in rapidly augmenting

numbers, the sons of very rich men, and lads who expect to inherit wealth are not as easily stimulated to effort, are not as apt to form definite and serious purposes, as those who know that they must whet their wits for the struggle of life.

There was a time when the mere possession of wealth conferred distinction; and when wealth confers distinction it is apt to breed a sort of consciousness of opportunity and responsibility in those who possess it and incline them to seek serious achievement. But that time is long past in America. Wealth is common. And, by the same token, the position of the lad who is to inherit it is a peculiarly disadvantageous one, if the standard of success is to rise above mediocrity. Wealth removes the necessity for effort, and yet effort is necessary for the attainment of distinction, and very great effort at that, in the modern world, as I have already pointed out. It would look as if the ordinary lad with expectations were foredoomed to obscurity; for the ordinary lad will not exert himself unless he must.

We live in an age in which no achievement is to be cheaply had. All the cheap achievements, open to amateurs, are exhausted and have become commonplace. Adventure, for example, is no longer extraordinary: which is another way of saying that it is commonplace. Any amateur may seek and find adventure; but it has been sought and had in all its kinds. Restless men, idle men, chivalrous men, men drawn on by mere curiosity and men drawn on by love of the knowledge that lies outside books and laboratories, have crossed the whole face of the habitable globe in search of it, ferreting it out in corners even, following its bypaths and beating its coverts, and it is nowhere any longer a novelty or distinction to have discovered and enjoyed it. The whole round of pleasure, moreover, has been exhausted time out of mind, and most of it discredited as not pleasure after all, but just an expensive counterfeit; so that many rich people have been driven to devote them-

selves to expense regardless of pleasure. No new pleasure, I am credibly informed, has been invented within the memory of man. For every genuine thrill and satisfaction, therefore, we are apparently, in this sophisticated world, shut in to work, to modifying and quickening the life of the age. If college be one of the highways to life and achievement, it must be one of the highways to work.

The man who comes out of college into the modern world must, therefore, have got out of it, if he has not wasted four vitally significant years of his life, a quickening and a training which will make him in some degree a master among men. If he has got less, college was not worth his while. To have made it worth his while he must have got such a preparation and development of his faculties as will give him movement as well as mere mechanical efficiency in affairs complex, difficult, and subject to change. The word efficiency has in our day the power to think at the centre of it, the power of independent movement and initiative. It is not merely the suitability to be a good tool, it is the power to wield tools, and among the tools are men and circumstances and changing processes of industry, changing phases of life itself. There should be technical schools a great many and the technical schools of America should be among the best in the world. The men they train are indispensable. The modern world needs more tools than managers, more workmen than master workmen. But even the technical schools must have some thought of mastery and adaptability in their processes; and the colleges, which are not technical schools, should think of that chiefly. We must distinguish what the college is for, without disparaging any other school, of any other kind. It is for the training of the men who are to rise above the ranks.

That is what a college is for. What it does, what it requires of its undergraduates and of its teachers, should be adjusted to that conception. The very state-

ment of the object, which must be plain to all who make any distinction at all between a college and a technical school, makes it evident that the college must subject its men to a general intellectual training which will be narrowed to no one point of view, to no one vocation or calling. It must release and quicken as many faculties of the mind as possible,—and not only release and quicken them but discipline and strengthen them also by putting them to the test of systematic labor. Work, definite, exacting, long continued, but not narrow or petty or merely rule of thumb, must be its law of life for those who would pass its gates and go out with its authentication.

By a general training I do not mean vague spaces of study, miscellaneous fields of reading, a varied smattering of a score of subjects and the thorough digestion of none. The field of modern knowledge is extremely wide and varied. After a certain number of really fundamental subjects have been studied in the schools, the college undergraduate must be offered a choice of the route he will travel in carrying his studies further. He cannot be shown the whole body of knowledge within a single curriculum. There is no longer any single highway of learning. The roads that traverse its vast and crowded spaces are not even parallel, and four years is too short a time in which to search them all out. But there is a general programme still possible by which the college student can be made acquainted with the field of modern learning by sample, by which he can be subjected to the several kinds of mental discipline,—in philosophy, in some one of the great sciences, in some one of the great languages which carry the thought of the world, in history and in politics, which is its framework,—which will give him valid naturalization as a citizen of the world of thought, the world of educated men,—and no smatterer merely, able barely to spell its constitution out, but a man who has really comprehended and made use of its chief intellectual

processes and is ready to lay his mind alongside its tasks with some confidence that he can master them and can understand why and how they are to be performed. This is the general training which should be characteristic of the college, and the men who undergo it ought to be made to undergo it with deep seriousness and diligent labour; not as soft amateurs with whom learning and its thorough tasks are side interests merely, but as those who approach life with the intention of becoming professionals in its fields of achievement.

Just now, where this is attempted, it seems to fail of success. College men, it is said, and often said with truth, come out undisciplined, untrained, unfitted for what they are about to undertake. It is argued, therefore, that what they should have been given was special vocational instruction; that if they had had that they would have been interested in their work while they were undergraduates, would have taken it more seriously, and would have come out of college ready to be used, as they now cannot be. No doubt that is to be preferred to a scattered and aimless choice of studies, and no doubt what the colleges offer is miscellaneous and aimless enough in many cases; but, at best, these are very hopeful assumptions on the part of those who would convert our colleges into vocational schools. They are generally put forward by persons who do not know how college life and work are now organized and conducted. I do not wonder that they know little of what has happened. The whole thing is of very recent development, at any rate in its elaborate complexity. It is a growth, as we now see it, of the last ten or twelve years; and even recent graduates of our colleges would rub their eyes incredulously to see it if they were to stand again on the inside and look at it intimately.

What has happened is, in general terms, this: that the work of the college, the work of its classrooms and laboratories, has become the merely formal and com-

pulsory side of its life, and that a score of other things, lumped under the term "undergraduate activities," have become the vital, spontaneous, absorbing realities for nine out of every ten men who go to college. These activities embrace social, athletic, dramatic, musical, literary, religious, and professional organizations of every kind, besides many organized for mere amusement and some, of great use and dignity, which seek to exercise a general oversight and sensible direction of college ways and customs. Those which consume the most time are, of course, the athletic, dramatic, and musical clubs, whose practices, rehearsals, games, and performances fill the term time and the brief vacations alike. But it is the social organizations into which the thought, the energy, the initiative, the enthusiasm of the largest number of men go, and go in lavish measure.

The chief of these social organizations are residential families,—fraternities, clubs, groups of house-mates of one kind or another,—in which, naturally enough, all the undergraduate interests, all the undergraduate activities of the college have their vital centre. The natural history of their origin and development is very interesting. They grew up very normally. They were necessary because of what the college did not do.

Every college in America, at any rate every college outside a city, has tried to provide living rooms for its undergraduates, dormitories in which they can live and sleep and do their work outside the classroom and the laboratory. Very few colleges whose numbers have grown rapidly have been able to supply dormitories enough for all their students, and some have deliberately abandoned the attempt, but in many of them a very considerable proportion of the undergraduates live on the campus, in college buildings. It is a very wholesome thing that they should live thus under the direct influence of the daily life of such a place and, at least in legal theory, under the authority of the university of which the college forms a principal part. But the con-

nection between the dormitory life and the real life of the university, its intellectual tasks and disciplines, its outlook upon the greater world of thought and action which lies beyond, far beyond, the boundaries of campus and classroom, is very meagre and shadowy indeed. It is hardly more than atmospheric, and the atmosphere is very attenuated, perceptible only by the most sensitive.

Formerly, in more primitive, and I must say less desirable, days than these in which we have learned the full vigour of freedom, college tutors and proctors lived in the dormitories and exercised a precarious authority. The men were looked after in their rooms and made to keep hours and observe rules. But those days are happily gone by. The system failed of its object. The lads were mischievous and recalcitrant, those placed in authority over them generally young and unwise; and the rules were odious to those whom they were meant to restrain. There was the atmosphere of the boarding-school about the buildings, and of a boarding-school whose pupils had outgrown it. Life in college dormitories is much pleasanter now and much more orderly, because it is free and governed only by college opinion, which is a real, not a nominal, master. The men come and go as they please and have little consciousness of any connection with authority or with the governing influences of the university in their rooms, except that the university is their landlord and makes rules such as a landlord may make.

Formerly, in more primitive and less pleasant days, the college provided a refectory or "commons" where all undergraduates had their meals, a noisy family. It was part of the boarding-school life; and the average undergraduate had outgrown it as consciously as he had outgrown the futile discipline of the dormitory. Now nothing of the kind is attempted. Here and there, in connection with some large college which has found that the boarding-houses and restaurants of the town

have been furnishing poor food at outrageous prices to those of its undergraduates who could not otherwise provide for themselves, will be found a great "commons," at which hundreds of men take their meals, amid the hurly-burly of numbers, without elegance or much comfort, but nevertheless at a well-spread table where the food is good and the prices moderate. The undergraduate may use it or not as he pleases. It is merely a great coöperative boarding-place, bearing not even a family resemblance to the antique "commons." It is one of the conveniences of the place. It has been provided by the university authorities, but it might have been provided in some other way and have been quite independent of them; and it is usually under undergraduate management.

Those who do not like the associations or the fare of such a place provide for themselves elsewhere, in clubs or otherwise,—generally in fraternity houses. At most colleges there is no such common boarding-place, and all must shift for themselves. It is this necessity in the one case and desire in the other that has created the chief complexity now observable in college life and which has been chiefly instrumental in bringing about that dissociation of undergraduate life from the deeper and more permanent influences of the university which has of recent years become so marked and so significant.

Fraternity chapters were once—and that not so very long ago—merely groups of undergraduates who had bound themselves together by the vows of various secret societies which had spread their branches among the colleges. They had their fraternity rooms, their places of meeting; they were distinguished by well-known badges and formed little coteries distinguishable enough from the general body of undergraduates, as they wished to be; but in all ordinary matters they shared the common life of the place. The daily experiences of the college life they shared with their fellows of all kinds and all connections, in an easy democ-

racy; their contacts were the common contacts of the classroom and the laboratory not only, but also of the boarding-house table and of all the usual undergraduate resorts. Members of the same fraternity were naturally enough inclined to associate chiefly with one another, and were often, much too often, inclined, in matters of college "politics," to act as a unit and in their own interest; but they did not live separately. They did not hold aloof or constitute themselves separate families, living apart in their own houses, in privacy. Now all that is changed. Every fraternity has its own house, equipped as a complete home. The fraternity houses will often be the most interesting and the most beautiful buildings a visitor will be shown when he visits the college. In them members take all their meals, in them they spend their leisure hours and often do their reading,—for each house has its library—and in them many of the members, as many as can be accommodated, have their sleeping rooms and live, because the college has not dormitories enough to lodge them or because they prefer lodging outside the dormitories. In colleges where there are no fraternities, clubs of one sort or another take their places, build homes of their own, enjoy a similar privacy and separateness, and constitute the centre of all that is most comfortable and interesting and attractive in undergraduate life.

I am pointing out this interesting and very important development, not for the purpose of criticising it, but merely to explain its natural history and the far-reaching results it has brought about. The college having determined, wisely enough, some generation or two ago, not to be any longer a boarding-school, has resolved itself into a mere teaching machine, with the necessary lecture rooms and laboratories attached and sometimes a few dormitories, which it regards as desirable but not indispensable, and has resigned into the hands of the undergraduates themselves the whole management of their life outside the classroom; and not only its man-

agement but also the setting up of all its machinery of every kind,—as much as they please,—and the constitution of its whole environment, so that teachers and pupils are not members of one university body but constitute two bodies sharply distinguished,—and the undergraduate body the more highly organized and independent of the two. They parley with one another, but they do not live with one another, and it is much easier for the influence of the highly organized and very self-conscious undergraduate body to penetrate the faculty than it is for the influence of the faculty to permeate the undergraduates.

It was inevitable it should turn out so in the circumstances. I do not wonder that the consequences were not foreseen and that the whole development has crept upon us almost unawares. But the consequences have been very important and very far-reaching. It is easy now to see that if you leave undergraduates entirely to themselves, to organize their own lives while in college as they please,—and organize it in some way they must if thus cast adrift,—that life, and not the deeper interests of the university, will presently dominate their thoughts, their imaginations, their favourite purposes. And not only that. The work of administering this complex life, with all its organizations and independent interests, successfully absorbs the energies, the initiative, the planning and originating powers of the best men among the undergraduates. It is no small task. It would tax and absorb older men; and only the finer, more spirited, more attractive, more original and effective men are fitted for it or equal to it, where leadership goes by gifts of personality as well as by ability. The very men the teacher most desires to get hold of and to enlist in some enterprise of the mind, the very men it would most reward him to instruct and whose training would count for most in leadership outside of college, in the country at large, and for the promotion of every interest the nation has, the natural leaders

and doers, are drawn off and monopolized by these necessary and engaging undergraduate undertakings. The born leaders and managers and originators are drafted off to "run the college" (it is in fact nothing less), and the classroom, the laboratory, the studious conference with instructors get only the residuum of their attention, only what can be spared of their energy—are secondary matters where they ought to come first. It is the organization that is at fault, not the persons who enter into it and are moulded by it. It cannot turn out otherwise in the circumstances. The side shows are so numerous, so diverting,—so important, if you will—that they have swallowed up the circus, and those who perform in the main tent must often whistle for their audiences, discouraged and humiliated.

Such is college life nowadays, and such its relation to college work and the all-important intellectual interests which the colleges are endowed and maintained to foster. I need not stop to argue that the main purposes of education cannot be successfully realized under such conditions. I need not stop to urge that the college was not and can never be intended for the uses it is now being put to. A young man can learn to become the manager of a football team or of a residential club, the leader of an orchestra or a glee club, the star of amateur theatricals, an oarsman or a chess player without putting himself to the trouble or his parents to the expense of four years at a college. These are innocent enough things for him to do and to learn, though hardly very important in the long run; they may, for all I know, make for efficiency in some of the simpler kinds of business; and no wise man who knows college lads would propose to shut them off from them or wish to discourage their interest in them. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy, not only, but may make him a vicious boy as well. Amusement, athletic games, the zest of contest and competition, the challenge there is in most college activities to the in-

stinct of initiative and the gifts of leadership and achievement,—all these are wholesome means of stimulation, which keep young men from going stale and turning to things that demoralize. But they should not assume the front of the stage where more serious and lasting interests are to be served. Men cannot be prepared by them for modern life.

The college is meant for a severer, more definite discipline than this: a discipline which will fit men for the contests and achievements of an age whose every task is conditioned upon some intelligent and effective use of the mind, upon some substantial knowledge, some special insight, some trained capacity, some penetration which comes from study, not from natural readiness or mere practical experience.

The side shows need not be abolished. They need not be cast out or even discredited. But they must be subordinated. They must be put in their natural place as diversions, and ousted from their present dignity and preëminence as occupations.

And this can be done without making of the college again a boarding-school. The characteristic of the boarding-school is that its pupils are in all things in tutelage, are under masters at every turn of their life, must do as they are bidden, not in the performance of their set tasks only, but also in all their comings and goings. It is this characteristic that made it impossible and undesirable to continue the life of the boarding-school into the college, where it is necessary that the pupil should begin to show his manhood and make his own career. No one who knows what wholesome and regulated freedom can do for young men ought ever to wish to hail them back to the days of childish discipline and restraint of which the college of our grandfathers was typical. But a new discipline is desirable, is absolutely necessary, if the college is to be recalled to its proper purpose, its bounden duty. It cannot perform its duty as it is now organized.

The fundamental thing to be accomplished in the new organization is, that, instead of being the heterogeneous congeries of petty organizations it now is, instead of being allowed to go to pieces in a score of fractions free to cast off from the whole as they please, it should be drawn together again into a single university family of which the teachers shall be as natural and as intimate members as the undergraduates. The "life" of the college should not be separated from its chief purposes and most essential objects, should not be contrasted with its duties and in rivalry with them. The two should be but two sides of one and the same thing; the association of men, young and old, for serious mental endeavour and also, in the intervals of work, for every wholesome sport and diversion. Undergraduate life should not be in rivalry and contrast with undergraduate duties: undergraduates should not be merely in attendance upon the college, but parts of it on every side of its life, very conscious and active parts. They should consciously live its whole life,—not under masters, as in school, and yet associated in some intimate daily fashion with their masters in learning: so that learning may not seem one thing and life another. The organizations whose objects lie outside study should be but parts of the whole, not set against it, but included within it.

All this can be accomplished by a comparatively simple change of organization which will make master and pupil members of the same free, self-governed family, upon natural terms of intimacy. But how it can be done is not our present interest. That is another story. It is our present purpose merely to be clear what a college is for. That, perhaps, I have now pointed out with sufficient explicitness. I have shown the incompatibility of the present social organization of our colleges with the realization of that purpose only to add emphasis to the statement of what that purpose is. Once get that clearly established in the mind of the country, and the means of realizing it will readily and

quickly enough be found. The object of the college is intellectual discipline and moral enlightenment, and it is the immediate task of those who administer the colleges of the country to find the means and the organization by which that object can be attained. Education is a process and, like all other processes, has its proper means and machinery. It does not consist in courses of study. It consists of the vital assimilation of knowledge, and the mode of life, for the college as for the individual, is nine parts of the digestion.

THE MINISTRY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

ADDRESS BEFORE THE MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 2, 1909. FROM THE "PROCEEDINGS" OF THE HISTORICAL CELEBRATION OF THE EIGHTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMINARY.

I FEEL that it is a privilege and a responsibility to bring this interesting programme to a close, particularly when I know how simple the message I bring to you will turn out to be.

It seems singular that each generation should ask itself for what purpose the gospel had come into the world, and yet it is necessary, if we would understand our own purposes, that we should ask ourselves in our own generation that fundamental question. No doubt Christianity came into the world to save the world. We are privileged to live in the midst of many manifestations of the great service that Christianity does to society, to the world that now is. All of the finest things that have made history illustrious seem to have proceeded from the spirit of Christ. All those things which distinguish modern civilization are things which it has derived from the spirit of the church, which, when it has remembered Christ, has reminded the world of the ideals according to which it should serve mankind; should serve all the ends for which men live together; and in our own day in particular there are a great many notable movements afoot which are manifestly touched—at their root, at any rate—with the spirit of Christ.

But Christianity did not come into the world merely to save the world, merely to set crooked things straight,

merely to purify social motives, merely to elevate the programme according to which we live, merely to put new illuminations into the plans we form for the regeneration of the life we are living now. The end and object of Christianity is the individual, and the individual is the vehicle of Christianity. There can be no other vehicle; no organization is in any proper sense Christian; no organization can be said itself to love the person and example of Christ. No organization can hold itself in that personal relationship to the Saviour in which the individual must hold himself if he would be indeed one who lives according to the Christian precepts.

You know what the distinguishing characteristic of modern society is, that it has submerged the individual as much as that is possible. In economic society particularly we see men organized in great societies and corporations and organic groups, in which each individual member feels that his own conscience is pooled and subordinated, and in coöperating with which men, as you know, constantly excuse themselves from the exercise of their own independent judgment in matters of conscience. The great danger of our own day, as it seems to me, is that men will compound their conscientious scruples on the ground that they are not free to move independently; that they are simply parts of a great whole, and that they must move with that whole, whether they wish to or not. For they say, "The penalty will be that we shall be absolutely crushed." The organization must dictate to us, if we be members of a corporation; if we be members of a union, the union; if we be members of a society of whatever kind, the programme of the society must dominate us. It was easy in a simpler age to apply morals to individual conduct, because individuals acted separately and by a private and individual choice, but we have not adjusted our morals to the present organization of society; and whatever you may say in general terms with regard to the obligation of the individual to exercise his own con-

science, you will find yourself very much put to it if a friend comes to you with an individual problem of conduct and asks you how in the circumstances you think he ought to act.

It sometimes seems like a choice between breaking up the programme of the organization and subordinating your own conscience. I have had men tell me who were in the profession to which I was originally bred—the profession of the law—that it is extremely difficult to thread their way amidst a thousand complicated difficulties in giving advice to the great bodies of men whom they are called upon to advise, and to discriminate between what is legally safe and what is morally justifiable.

It is in this age that the preacher must preach. The preacher must find the individual and enable the individual to find himself, and in order to do that he must understand and thread the intricacies of modern society.

It was my privilege to speak upon a similar occasion to this, not many months ago, and there to take as my theme the necessity the minister is under to enable the individual to find himself amid the intricacies of modern thought. This is an age of obscured counsel about many fundamental things, and the average individual cannot unassisted know his place in the spiritual order of the universe as it is now interpreted by multitudinous and differing voices. The minister has the very difficult and responsible task of enabling the individual to find himself amidst modern thought. This evening I must call your attention to the fact that it is also his business to enable the individual to find himself amid modern action. There are daily choices to be made, and the individual must make them at the risk of the integrity of his own soul. He must understand that he cannot shift the responsibility upon the organization. The minister must address himself to him as his counsellor and friend and spiritual companion; they must take counsel together how a man is to live with uplifted head

and pure conscience in our own complicated age, not allowing the crowd to run away with or over him.

You know that the law has shirked this duty. Sooner or later the duty must be faced. The law tries nowadays to deal with men in groups and companies, to punish them as corporate wholes. It is an idle undertaking. It never will be successfully accomplished. The only responsibility to which human society has ever responded or ever will respond, is the responsibility of the individual. The law must find the individual in the modern corporation and apply its demands and its punishments to him if we are to check any of the vital abuses which now trouble the world of business. You may pile fines never so high in the public treasury, and corporations will still continue to do things that they ought not to do, unless you check them by taking hold of the individuals who are ultimately responsible for their policy. While the law waits to find this out, the minister cannot wait. He must attempt and must accomplish what the law declines, for men are dying every day. They are going to their long reckoning. They cannot wait for the law to find the way of the gospel. The minister must be present with them while they live, and comfort them when they die, and reassure them of the standards of their conduct.

Every great age of the world of which I have ever heard was an age not characterized chiefly by coöperative effort, but characterized chiefly by the initiative of the indomitable individual. You cannot give any age distinction by the things that everybody does. Each age derives its distinction from the things that individuals choose to be singular in doing of their own choice. Every turning point in the history of mankind has been pivoted upon the choice of an individual, when some spirit that would not be dominated stood stiff in its independence and said: "I go this way. Let any man go another way who pleases."

We die separately. We do not die by corporations.

We do not die by societies. We do not withdraw into our closets by companies. Every man has to live with himself privately—and it is a most uncomfortable life. He has to remember what he did during the day, the things that he yielded to, the points that he compromised, the things that he shrugged his shoulders at and let go by when he knew that he ought to have uttered a protest and stood stiff in declining to coöperate. And this lonely dying is the confession of our consciousness that we are individually and separately and personally related to the ideals which we pursue, and to the persons to whom we should stand loyal. Corporations do not and cannot love Christ. Some individuals that compose them do, but those individuals do not love him truly who coöperate in doing the things that those associated with them do that are inconsistent with the law of Christ.

I have heard a great deal of preaching, and I have heard most of it with respect; but I have heard a great deal of it with disappointment, because I felt that it had nothing to do with me. So many preachers whom I hear use the gospel in order to expound some of the difficulties of modern thought, but only now and again does a minister direct upon me personally the raking fire of examination, which consists in taking out of the Scriptures individual, concrete examples of men situated as I suppose myself to be situated, and searching me with the question, "How are you individually measuring up to the standard which in Holy Writ we know to have been exacted of this man and that?"

I am one of those who remember with a great deal of admiration the work of that extraordinary man, Mr. Moody. He was not a learned man, as you know, and the doctrine that he preached was always doctrine which seemed to have inevitably something personal to do with you if you were in the audience. Whenever I came into contact with Mr. Moody I got the impression that he was coming separately into contact with one

person at a time. I remember once that I was in a very plebeian place. I was in a barber shop, lying in a chair, and I was presently aware that a personality had entered the room. A man came quietly in upon the same errand that I had come in on, and sat in the chair next to me. Every word that he uttered, though it was not in the least didactic, showed a personal and vital interest in the man who was serving him. Before I got through with what was being done to me I was aware that I had attended an evangelical service, because Mr. Moody was in the next chair. I purposely lingered in the room after he left and noted the singular effect his visit had upon the barbers in that shop. They talked in undertones. They did not know his name. They did not know who had been there, but they knew that something had elevated their thought. I left the place as I should have left a place of worship. Mr. Moody always sought and found the individual, and that is the particular thing which the minister must do.

As I see the opportunity of the church, it is to assist in bringing in another great age. Ministers are not going to assist very much in solving the social problems of the time, as such. Their attitude toward the social problems of the time is always supposed to be a professional attitude, and they are not of as much assistance in that matter as the average serious-minded layman is. But the opportunity of the church is to call in tones that cannot be mistaken to every individual to think of his own place in the world and his own responsibility, and to resist the temptations of his particular life in such ways that if he be central to anything the whole world will feel the thrill of the fact that there is one immovable thing in it, a moral principle embodied in a particular man.

This is an age of conformity. It is an age when everybody goes about seeking to say what everybody else is saying. Winds of opinion creep through the country. Formulas are repeated with all sorts of dex-

terity in their mere variation. Men have caught the gregarious habit of conscience as well as of mind, and you will find that nothing heartens an audience in a modern age more than to hear an individual, whether he has anything new to say or not, get up and say something that he really means, singly and by himself, without the least care whether anybody else thinks it and means it or not. A friend of mine who was of such a sort was congratulated for his courage in speaking the things that he really thought. He said: "Why, I am not aware of any courage. It would take courage to do the other thing. If I said the things I did not mean, I would say very contradictory things at different times; I would get all tied up, and I should not know how to get out." The only way to avoid that is by echoing everything else that everybody else says. There was a cynical saying of Dean Swift's, "If you wish to be considered a man of sense, always agree with the person with whom you are conversing." That is a very modern, and also, I dare say, a very ancient way of gaining a reputation of being a man of sense. But it is practised at the peril of your soul, which is a consideration worth thinking of.

I have often preached in my political utterances the doctrine of expediency, and I am an unabashed disciple of that doctrine. What I mean to say is, you cannot carry the world forward as fast as a few select individuals think. The individuals who have the vigour to lead must content themselves with a slackened pace and go only so fast as they can be followed. They must not be impracticable. They must not be impossible. They must not insist upon getting at once what they know they cannot get. But that is not inconsistent with their telling the world in very plain terms whither it is bound and what the ultimate and complete truth of the matter, as it seems to them, is. You cannot make any progress unless you know whither you are bound. The question is not a pace. That is a matter of expediency,

not of direction; that is not a matter of principle. Where the individual should be indomitable is in the choice of direction, saying: "I will not bow down to the golden calf of fashion. I will not bow down to the weak habit of pursuing everything that is popular, everything that belongs to the society to which I belong. I will insist on telling that society, if I think it so, that in certain fundamental principles it is wrong; but I won't be fool enough to insist that it adopt my programme at once for putting it right." What I do insist upon is, speaking the full truth to it and never letting it forget the truth; speaking the truth again and again and again with every variation of the theme, until men will wake some morning and the theme will sound familiar, and they will say, "Well, after all, is it not so?" That is what I mean by the indomitable individual. Not the defiant individual, not the impracticable individual, but the individual who does try, and cannot be ashamed, and cannot be silenced; who tries to observe the fair manner of just speech but who will not hold his tongue.

That is the duty of the preacher. I have noticed that there is one sort of preaching in simple congregations and sometimes a different sort of preaching in congregations that are not simple. Now there cannot be two gospels. There cannot be two ways in which individuals shall save themselves. And the minister ought to see to it that with infinite gentleness, but with absolute fearlessness, every man is made to conform to the standards which are set up in the gospel, even though it cost him his reputation, even though it cost him his friends, even though it cost him his life. Then will come that moral awakening which we have been so long predicting, and for which we have so long waited; that rejuvenation of morals which comes when morals are a fresh and personal and individual thing for every man and woman in every community; when the church will seem, not like an organization for the propagation of doctrine, but like

an organization made up of individuals every one of whom is vital in the processes of life.

I remember attending recently a missionary conference in which we were all heartened with the plans that were being formed for bringing all the denominations in the missionary field together in a common effort. After all the speeches had been made and we had dispersed and I was going home in the night, I thought: "This is a very beautiful thing that is about to happen in the mission field. But I hope that after it has happened there the people who are being evangelized will not come here and see us, because I should not like to have them think we could do that thing away from home and could not do it at home. I should not like to have them think that we are divided in our Christianity where we live and maintain the civilization of a Christian nation, and are united only among those upon whom we look with a certain condescension, as if they could not understand our differences of doctrine, and therefore they were not worthy the explanation." It is, I suppose, a high intellectual plane upon which we think that we live, but we do not live upon intellectual planes at all; we live upon emotional planes; we live upon planes of resolution and not upon planes of doctrine, if I may put it so. And the reason that we differ so is that we hold ourselves too far above the practical levels of life and are constantly forgetting that the whole vitality of Christianity consists not in its texts, but in their translation; not in the things that we set up as the abstract standard, but in the actions which we originate as the concrete examples.

You will see, therefore, that there is a sense in which the minister is set against modern society. Modern society is collectivist. It says, "Unite." The minister must say, "Not so. You can unite for certain temporal purposes, but you cannot merge your souls; and Christianity, come what may, must be fundamentally and forever individualistic." For my part, I do not see

any promise of vitality either in the church or in society except upon the true basis of individualism. A nation is strong in proportion to the variety of its originative strength, and that is in proportion to the vitality of its individuals. It is rich in direct proportion to the independence of the souls of which it is made up. And so every promising scheme that unites us must still be illuminated and checked and offset by those eternal principles of individual responsibility which are repeated not only in the gospel but in human nature, in physical nature.

You have loved some person very dearly. You have tried to merge your individuality with that person, and you have never succeeded. There is no person linked spiritually so closely to you that you can share his individuality or he can share yours. And this inexorable law, physical and spiritual, is the law which must be the guiding fact for the minister of the gospel. He must preach Christianity to men, not to society. He must preach salvation to the individual, for it is only one by one that we can love, and love is the law of life. And the only person living through whom we shall love is our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

POLITICAL REFORM

SPEECH AT THE CITY CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 18, 1909. FROM THE CLOSE MANUSCRIPTS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

MR. WILSON'S theme was *Political Reform*. He said in substance:

Political reform is not with us in America any longer a question of motive, but a question of means. The desire for reform is everywhere manifest enough, and many thoughtful and energetic persons are devoting themselves to it with ardor and seriousness. But their efforts are resulting more often in failure than in success because, for some reason or other, they have not found methods which served their purposes or which they could perfect in such a way as to make their temporary success permanent. Our whole effort, therefore, should be, not to urge reform, but to master its method.

The *bête noire* of all the reformers is the "political machine," but the political machine cannot be put out of business unless a better machine is substituted for it or the use of machinery rendered practically unnecessary.

A better machine can hardly be found, if by a better machine we mean a more efficient means of controlling nominations and determining the operations of political authority. To set up a machine which would successfully rival an existing machine would necessitate the same minute attention to details, the same constant and diligent effort, the same thoroughness and efficiency of organization; and a rival machine as effective as the existing machine would in the long run be as dangerous and as susceptible of demoralization. Apparently,

therefore, the most promising course of reform is to dispense as nearly as possible with machinery and so put all machines out of commission.

The reason for the existence of a political machine is the elaborate political processes now necessary in the nomination and election of candidates for office. These processes are so elaborate as to need the skill of those who make their use a profession.

Our attacks upon the machine are for the most part futile because they ordinarily take the form of still further elaboration of process. We invent some new form of primary, we introduce the practice of the "initiative" and "referendum," we create the privilege of "recall," and before we are through we have given the voters so many things to do that they need the assistance of professional advisers in doing them, and can easily be outwitted by those very advisers in the very processes which were meant to free them from control.

The whole of the matter is clearly enough displayed in the circumstances of our ordinary elections. We give the voter so many persons to vote for that the ballot becomes a complicated thing which he has not time himself to prepare and which he cannot thoroughly understand after it has been prepared for him by the professional politician. It is very rare that a ballot put in the hands of the voter contains less than twenty-five names. One ballot that I have seen contained 700, was printed like a newspaper in compact columns, and was much larger than a single sheet of a newspaper. And the ballots devised even by ballot reformers throughout the country differ from this extraordinary ballot only in the number of names, which run from the scores to the hundreds. Of course, it is impossible for the ordinary voter to make discriminating choices among the multitude of names presented to him of persons unknown to him and about whom diligent inquiry will disclose very little. It would take a small volume to set before him the records of all the persons he is asked

to vote for, and he is helpless in the presence of the task set before him. If he tries to make nominations of his own, a single name of his own and his neighbours' suggesting will be lost amongst the multitude on the ballot; and if he tries to make up an entire "ticket," he will find himself daunted in a thousand ways by the difficulty of the undertaking.

It is plain that the way of reform lies in the direction of simplification. If the voter is to know what he is about, the number of persons he is to be called upon to vote for must be reduced to a minimum. When it is so reduced, both nomination and election will become direct, simple, and intelligible.

It cannot be a matter of accident that this very simplification in the process of election is characteristic of all the best governed cities in the world. A single example will serve as a type. The city of Glasgow is one of the best governed cities in the world. In it each voter is called upon to vote for only a single person, namely, the councilman from his ward. The Council thus made up from single member districts divides itself into as many committees as there are branches of the city government. Each committee is responsible to the Council for the entire conduct of the department assigned it, makes all appointments, and is in full charge of the business of its department. The morning papers record the votes of every member, whether in Council or at the meeting of his committee. It is a perfectly simple matter for every voter to follow his councilman at every point in the transaction of the public business. If he is dissatisfied with the action of his representative in the city government, he can easily gather a group of neighbours and put someone else in nomination. A perfectly simple contest can be made up between the candidates in the field, only one of whom is to be chosen. The issues of the contest are obvious, and the processes so direct as not to need the intervention of any machine whatever. No machine prepares a ticket, and no ma-

chine can confuse the voters in the processes of selection and election.

This simplification of process is necessary and feasible in every part of our representative system. It is particularly serviceable and particularly necessary in the government of our cities. I believe that the Short Ballot is the key to the whole question of the restoration of government by the people. Its salient principles are these: First, a governing body as small as is consistent with efficiency; second, full administrative responsibility lodged in that body; third, the election of that body by voters who are given only one or at most two persons to select for candidates and to vote for as officers.

It is to be feared that in many of the recent changes in the government of American cities the governing body has been made too small for efficiency. A commission of five persons, for example, is probably too small a body to master the details of the business of a considerable city. The body should be large enough to divide the work with sufficient minuteness to permit it to be easily mastered by those who are responsible, and the simplifying effect of a small body can be attained by reducing the number of members of that body to be voted for by each voter.

The effects of this simplification are direct and veritable representation of public opinion, unmistakable responsibility on the part of those chosen, and the destruction of all machines by the simple process of making the business of politics so simple that there is nothing that necessitates the existence of a machine.

Most Americans will remember a cartoon of Thomas Nast's, often reproduced. It represents the members of the old Tweed Ring in New York City standing in a circle. Each man has his thumb pointed at his neighbour, and the title of the drawing is "Twan't Me." The cartoon was a correct representation of American city government, which is so arranged by our complex char-

ters that each man connected with the government can very plausibly disclaim responsibility for any particular political action. We have invented a "Twan't Me" system of government and must reject it as soon as possible, must substitute for it a government of direct derivation from the people and of unmistakable responsibility, without making the very un-American mistake of setting up in place of a really representative body a too highly concentrated executive authority.

LIVING PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

FROM "HARPER'S WEEKLY," APRIL 9, 1910, VOL. LIV,
PP. 9-10.

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON was the principal guest of the Democrats of Elizabeth, New Jersey, on March 29th. He spoke, in response to a toast, as follows:

The signs and portents of the time are all certainly most encouraging to those who believe that the Democratic party can be serviceable to the country at this juncture of its affairs. It would seem that everywhere the thought of men who are anxious for the welfare of the country is turning against the present policies and purposes of the Republican party and that the day when the Democratic party must take charge of affairs is almost at hand. But it would be a great mistake to consider these circumstances as merely a party opportunity.

The success of a party is not the thing which should be first in our thoughts, but the service of the country. These signs of changing public opinion should not make us eager for office, but eager for an opportunity to see the principles we believe in realized in action. Above all, they should lead us to reëxamine those principles, and to assure ourselves very definitely what it is that we believe, and to ask how our beliefs can be made most serviceable in correcting errors of policy and initiating measures which will meet the obvious and immediate needs of the day.

The fact that our opportunity is at hand makes our duty the thing that we should principally consider. The great governments of this country, State and nation, do

not exist for the purpose of affording opportunities to those Democrats or those Republicans who desire to hold office, but the Democratic and Republican parties alike are intended for the service of the nation. It would be very uncomfortable to look forward toward the responsibilities of success if we did not know what we were to do with it when it came.

In order to determine this all-important question, we must remind ourselves that our duty is of the present and the future. We are not old men looking over our shoulders, recalling past difficulties, shouting old slogans, fretting over old jealousies and divisions, but men of our own day, looking forward, looking about us, studying the needs and circumstances of the nation as a whole, and seeking an opportunity to make our counsels heard in the affairs of the country we love.

At least this is what I myself believe, and we shall in the next few months and years be able to prove whether it is true or not. Let me suggest one interesting proof. It will, to my mind, be proved if the young men of the country begin to crowd into our ranks and recruit our forces. The young men of the country are not interested in old disputes and rivalries and varieties of counsel; they want to know what we are going to do now and what we promise for the future, what hope we offer them in their careers not as politicians, but as men of business, interested in every affair that the future is to disclose. They will be more interested in our programmes than in our promises. They will expect to see the carrying out of our programmes put in the hands of men whom they can reasonably expect to carry them out. They will look beyond our professions to our actions. If they come to us, we may be sure that the future is ours and that the Democratic party is the real choice of the nation.

DEMOCRACY'S STANDARDS

Let us ask ourselves first, then, what our standards are. Why do we assure ourselves that we can advise and lead the country better than the Republicans can? What are the items of our creed that we should have confidence in its efficacy and believe that it will lift us into power and enable us to make worthy use of the power when we get it? Old formulas will serve us very ill, indeed, in answering this question. We must forget what the books say of us as a party and must ask ourselves what we say of our own real beliefs, what it is that puts hope in us and makes us eager to serve with a disinterested public spirit?

My own answer to these searching questions would be, in the first place, that we have profound and abiding confidence in the people themselves. The Republican party has sought to serve the nation by showing its confidence in those who are the most conspicuous leaders of the country's business and of its economic development. Whatever their thought may have been, their action has shown that their confidence was not in the views and desires of the people as a whole, but in the promotion of the interests of the country at the hands of those who chiefly controlled its resources. It has been their first thought to safeguard property and establish enterprise. Our position, I take it, is not in the least hostile to property or established enterprise. No wise man or right-minded statesman would think of putting these in unnecessary jeopardy. The affairs of the nation stand fast in proportion as every interest is safeguarded and one interest is not bettered by attacking another. But our fundamental law, our constitutions themselves, afford abundant protection to property and established enterprise, to everything that rests upon valid title or legal contract. The structure of the government and the fibre of our institutions are firm and stiff and enduring. We need not fear to strain them

by pressing forward to secure the things which are meant to serve the people as a whole rather than particular vested interests. It is our privilege and our duty to show our faith in the people by serving them, not in groups and sections, but as a whole.

THEIR JUDGMENT BIASED

In the second place, it is our conviction that the interests, by which I mean the men whose energies are concentrated upon particular enterprises established under the conditions of existing law, cannot see the welfare of the country as a whole or in true proportion and perspective. They stand too near their own affairs, are too much engaged upon a particular purpose, are too entirely immersed in the promotion of particular interests to see the people's interest in its entirety or to hold anything off at arm's length and see how it stands related to the affairs of the nation as a whole. These things can be seen only from outside the interests, only by those whose thought it is to accommodate the interests to the general welfare, whether that be pleasing to the interests or not.

A third fundamental principle upon which I believe Democratic party action should rest is that the individual, not the corporation, the single living person, not the artificial group of persons existing merely by permission of the law, is the only rightful possessor alike of rights and of privileges. The corporation is a convenience, not a natural member of society. Society must be organized so that the individual will not be crushed, will not be unnecessarily hampered. Every legal instrumentality created for his convenience, like the corporation, must be created only for his convenience and never for his government or suppression.

We believe, in the fourth place, that the division of political power in this country as between the States and the Federal government and between the several

parts and organs of the Federal government itself is fixed in law and principle and not simply in desire and convenience. We are a party of law and of service only within the law. We believe that our constitutions are sufficiently liberal and elastic to serve every legitimate purpose of public policy. We do not believe that the policy of the moment or the convenience of the moment would ever justify us in demanding of that fundamental law something more than elasticity. Our consciences and our views of public policy alike condemn the effort to read into existing law what it was obviously not meant to contain. If we cannot serve the country under the law, we will ask the people to change the law. We will not take it upon ourselves to change it without their formal consent.

But the principles are much easier to state than policies. It is comparatively easy to say what we believe: it is comparatively easy to say what we desire. We have not lost our identity as the party of the people nor the party of reform. But it is quite another matter to say in what explicit ways we should seek to realize our principles in action.

A party at once conservative in respect of the law and radical in respect of the service we mean to render the people: our policies do not cut to the alteration of institutions, but to the effectuation of measures, and it is of the first consequence that we should have a very definite programme as to what we mean our measures to be.

CHARACTER OF LEGISLATION

I do not mean, of course, to be guilty of the egotism and audacity of putting forth a programme of specific measures, but I do think it possible to state in very definite terms the character we should wish to give to legislation.

In the first place, we should wish not merely to

curb the trusts, and, above all, we should not wish to regulate them in such a way as will make them either partners or creatures of the government itself. We should wish to square their whole action and responsibility with the general interest, regarding them not as objects in themselves, but merely as conveniences in our economic life and development. Recent proposals of regulation have looked too much like a wholesale invasion by government itself of the field of business management.

It is imperatively necessary, if government is to be kept pure and impartial, that its officers should not themselves be made partners or managers of the great corporate enterprises through which the public is served. Our regulation of public interests must be legal regulation and not direct management.

It is bad enough to have the modern overgrown corporations to restrain and control. It would be infinitely worse if they were combined with government itself, and a partnership formed which could not be broken up without attacking our very governors themselves.

In the second place, it is clearly our duty, so soon as we get the opportunity, to take the government out of the business of patronage, the business of granting favours and privileges, of arranging the laws so that this, that, or the other group of men may make large profits out of their business, and draw it back to the function of safeguarding rights, general, not particular, rights, the rights which make not so much for the "prosperity" which enables small groups of individuals to pile up enormous fortunes, as for a general stimulation, a universal opportunity for enlightenment and justice.

I am thinking, of course, of tariff legislation. Whatever may be our views with regard to the policy vaguely called the policy of protection, it is clear that in fact it has long since, as dealt with by Congress, ceased to be a policy of protection and become a policy of patron-

age, a policy of arrangement by which particular interests in the country may be sure of their profits, whether the country profits by their enterprise or not. It is by such questionable means that the government has condescended to base its legislation and its system of taxation upon the interests not of the whole people, but of the particular enterprises which the leaders in Congress thought it profitable for their party to patronize and draw into partnership for the maintenance of party power.

CAUSE OF HIGH PRICES

We are told that the present extraordinarily high prices of commodities of all sorts is due not to the tariff, but to the fact that we are not producing enough to keep up with the daily demand, and that this is particularly true with regard to the things we eat and have daily need of. Take meat, for example, and see what the truth is. The truth is that the Meat Trust has been able to control the meat-market to such an extent that scores of ranchmen have been driven out of the cattle-raising business because it was unprofitable. The short supply of meat is due to the monopoly created by the Meat Trust. It is true, therefore, that the supply is short compared with the vast demand, but it has been made short by the operation of a trust unquestionably fostered by the legislation of the government. I dare say that the same might be shown to be true with regard to the grains. There have been some very interesting and disgraceful chapters of railroad history which have meant that the men in control of the capital of the country have often used the railways to create such disadvantage of shipment on the part of farmers whom they did not care to favour, that the shipment of grain to market became unprofitable and the supply was again checked by monopoly, the monopoly of the bigger shippers.

In the third place, it is one of the chief duties of the Democratic party to initiate such reforms, alike in local and in Federal government, as will secure economy, responsibility, honesty, fidelity. The processes of reform which will secure these neglected objects are processes of simplification, not processes of elaboration, not processes which multiply the instrumentalities of government unnecessarily and therefore its expenses, but the processes which make for the simplest, most straightforward, and businesslike conduct of affairs.

NEED OF SELF-RELIANCE

And, finally, it seems to me that it is the duty of the Democratic party to challenge the people by every possible means to depend upon themselves rather than upon fostering powers lodged in groups of individuals. There have been many encouraging signs in recent years, particularly in some of our smaller cities, that we have at last come upon a time when the people are arousing themselves to give over being dependent upon men whom they cannot watch and are taking direct charge, at any rate of their local governments. There is no reason why this process should not extend to the governments of the States and in effect to the government of the nation. A simplification of electoral processes will do much to accomplish this. Government can be put in such a form as to be easy to understand, easy to criticise, easy to restrain. It should be the study of every sincere Democrat to promote the measure by which these things can be accomplished.

In brief, our programme should be a general revival of popular politics, of common counsel, of responsible leadership. We must supply efficient leaders and eschew all the lower personal objects of politics. It is a case of must as well as a case of may, a case of necessity as well as a case of privilege. A new day has come. Men and measures are being scrutinized as

never before. For myself, I veritably believe that we are upon the eve of a new era of political liberty, when more literally and truly than ever before we can realize the ideals of popular government and of individual privilege, the dawn of an age in which the pristine vigour of America may be renewed amidst fresh achievements for humanity. If the Democratic party sees this opportunity and takes advantage of it without selfishness, with patriotic enthusiasm, with an ardour for the things a new age is to bring forth, it will win not mere party success, but a glory which it will itself be glad to see merged and identified with the glory of the nation itself.

ADDRESS TO PITTSBURGH ALUMNI

DELIVERED AT PITTSBURGH BANQUET, APRIL 16, 1910.
FROM "PITTSBURGH DISPATCH," APRIL 17, 1910.

MR. WILSON said in part:
How does the nation judge Princeton? The institution is intended for the service of the country, and it is by the requirements of the country that it will be measured. I trust I may be thought among the last to blame the churches, yet I feel it my duty to say that they—at least the Protestant churches—are serving the classes and not the masses of the people. They have more regard for the pew rents than for men's souls. They are depressing the level of Christian endeavor.

It is the same with the universities. We look for the support of the wealthy and neglect our opportunities to serve the people. It is for this reason the State University is held in popular approval while the privately supported institution to which we belong is coming to suffer a corresponding loss of esteem.

While attending a recent Lincoln celebration I asked myself if Lincoln would have been as serviceable to the people of this country had he been a college man, and I was obliged to say to myself that he would not. The process to which the college man is subjected does not render him serviceable to the country as a whole. It is for this reason that I have dedicated every power in me to a democratic regeneration.

The American college must become saturated in the same sympathies as the common people. The colleges of this country must be reconstructed from the top to the bottom. The American people will tolerate nothing that savours of exclusiveness. Their political par-

ties are going to pieces. They are busy with their moral regeneration and they want leaders who can help them accomplish it. Only those leaders who seem able to promise something of a moral advance are able to secure a following. The people are tired of pretense, and I ask you, as Princeton men, to heed what is going on.

* * * *

If she loses her self-possession, America will stagger like France through fields of blood before she again finds peace and prosperity under the leadership of men who know her needs.

HIDE AND SEEK POLITICS

FROM THE "NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW," MAY, 1910,
VOL. CXCI, PP. 585-601.

THE political discussions of recent years concerning the reform of our political methods have carried us back to where we began. We set out upon our political adventures as a nation with one distinct object, namely, to put the control of government in the hands of the people, to set up a government by public opinion thoroughly democratic in its structure and motive. We were more interested in that than in making it efficient. Efficiency meant strength; strength might mean tyranny; and we were minded to have liberty at any cost. And now, behold! when our experiment is an hundred and thirty-odd years old, we discover that we have neither efficiency nor control. It is stated and conceded on every side that our whole representative system is in the hands of the "machine": that the people do not in reality choose their representatives any longer, and that their representatives do not serve the general interest unless dragooned into doing so by extraordinary forces of agitation, but are controlled by personal and private influences; that there is no one anywhere whom we can hold publicly responsible, and that it is hide-and-seek who shall be punished, who rewarded, who preferred, who rejected,—that the processes of government amongst us, in short, are haphazard, the processes of control obscure and ineffectual. And so we are at the beginning again. We must, if any part of this be true, at once devote ourselves again to finding means to make our governments, whether in our cities, in our States, or in the nation, representative, responsible and efficient.

Efficiency, of course, depends largely upon organization. There must be definite authority, centred in somebody in particular whom we can observe and control, and an organization built upon obedience and coöperation, an organization which acts together, with system, intelligence, and energy. We were afraid of such an organization at the outset. It seemed to mean the concentration of authority in too few hands and the setting up of a government which might be too strong for the people. Our chief thought was of control. We concluded that the best means of obtaining it was to make practically every office elective, whether great or small, superior or subordinate; to bring the structure of the government at every point into direct contact with the people. The derivation of every part of it we desired should be directly from the people. We were very shy of appointments to office. We wished only elections, frequent and direct.

As part of the system,—we supposed an indispensable part,—we defined the duties of every office, great or small, by statute and gave to every officer a definite legal independence. We wished him to take his orders only from the law,—not from any superior, but from the people themselves, whose will the law was intended to embody. No officer appointed him and no officer could remove him. The people had given him his term, short enough to keep him in mind of his responsibility to them, and would not suffer any one but themselves to displace him, unless he became himself an actual breaker of the law. In that case he might be indicted like any other lawbreaker. But his indictment would be a family affair; no discipline imposed upon him by his superiors in office, but a trial and judgment by his neighbours. A district attorney, elected on the same “ticket” with himself, would bring the matter to the attention of a grand jury of their neighbours, men who had in all likelihood voted for them both, and a petit jury of the same neighbourhood would hear and decide the case

if a true bill were found against him. He stood or fell by their judgment of the law, not by his character or efficiency.

A sheriff in one of the States suffered a prisoner to be taken from him by a mob and hanged. He made no show or pretense even of resistance. The Governor of the State wrote him a sharp letter of rebuke for his criminal neglect of his duty. He replied in an open letter in which he bluntly requested the Governor to mind his own business. The interesting feature of the reply was not its impudence, but the fact that it could be written with perfect impunity. The fact was as he had stated it. He was not responsible to the Governor or to any other officer whatever, but only to the voters of his neighbourhood, many of whom had composed the mob which took his prisoner from him and hanged him at their leisure. He was never called to account for what he had done.

This is a sample of our direct responsibility to the people as a legal system. It was very serviceable and natural so long as our communities were themselves simple and homogeneous. The old New England town meeting, for example, was an admirable instrument of actual self-government. Where neighbourhoods are small and neighbours know one another they can make actual selection of the men they wish to put into office. Every candidate is known by everybody, and the officers of government when elected serve a constituency of whose interests and opinions they are keenly and intimately aware. Any community whose elements are homogeneous and whose interests are simple can govern itself very well in this informal fashion. The people in such a case, rather than the government, are the organism. But those simple days have gone by. The people of our present communities, from one end of the country to the other, are not homogeneous, but composite, their interests varied and extended, their life complex and intricate. The voters who make them

up are largely strangers to each other. Town meetings are out of the question, except for the most formal purposes, perfunctorily served; life sweeps around a thousand centres, and the old processes of selection, the old bases of responsibility, are impossible. Officers of government used to be responsible because they were known and closely observed by neighbours of whose opinions and preferences they were familiarly aware; but now they are unknown, the servants of a political organization, not of their neighbours, irresponsible because obscure, or because defended by the very complexity of the system of which they form a part. The elective items on every voter's programme of duty have become too numerous to be dealt with separately and are, consequently, dealt with in the mass and by a new system, the system of political machinery against which we futilely cry out.

I say "futilely cry out" because the machine is both natural and indispensable in the circumstances and cannot be abolished unless the circumstances are changed, and very radically changed at that. We have given the people something so vast and complicated to do in asking them to select all the officers of government that they cannot do it. It must be done for them by professionals. There are so many men to be named for office; it is futile to name one or two unless you name a whole ticket; the offices that fill a ticket are so many and so obscure that it is impossible the thing should be done informally and offhand by direct, unassisted popular choice. There must be a preliminary process of selection, of nomination, of preparing the ticket as a whole, unless there is to be hopeless confusion, names put up at haphazard and nobody elected by a clear majority at the end. The machine is as yet an indispensable instrumentality of our politics.

Public opinion in the United States was never better informed, never more intelligent, never more eager to make itself felt in the control of government for the

betterment of the nation than it is now; and yet, I venture to say, it was never more helpless to obtain its purposes by ordinary and stated means. It has to resort to convulsive, agitated, almost revolutionary means to have its way. It knows what it wants. It wants good men in office, sensible laws adjusted to existing conditions, conscience in affairs and intelligence in their direction. But it is at a loss how to get these. It flings itself this way and that, frightens this group of politicians, pets that, hopes, protests, demands, but cannot govern.

In its impatience it exaggerates the inefficiency and bad morals of its governments very grossly and is very unfair to men who would serve it if they could, who do serve it when they can, but who are caught in the same net of complicated circumstance in which opinion itself finds itself involved. There is no just ground for believing that our legislative and administrative bodies are generally corrupt. They are not. They are made up for the most part of honest men who are without leadership and without free opportunity; who try to understand the public interest and to devise measures to advance it, but who are subordinate to a political system which they cannot dominate or ignore. The machinery of the bodies to which they belong is inorganic, as decentralized as our elective processes would lead one to expect. No one person or group of persons amongst them has been authorized by the circumstances of their election to lead them or to assume responsibility for their programme of action. They therefore parcel out initiative and responsibility in conformity with the obvious dictates of the system. They put their business in the hands of committees,—a committee for each subject they have to handle,—and give each of their members a place upon some committee. The measures proposed to them, therefore, come from the four quarters of the heaven, from members big and little, known and unknown, but never from any responsible source.

There can be neither consistency nor continuity in the policies they attempt. What they do cannot be watched, and it cannot be itself organized and made a whole of. There is so much of it and it is so miscellaneous that it cannot be debated. The individual member must do the best he can amidst the confusion. He has only an occasional part and opportunity.

He is controlled, as a matter of fact, from out-of-doors,—not by the views of his constituents, but by a party organization which is intended to hold the heterogeneous elements of our extraordinary political system together.

When public opinion grows particularly restless and impatient of our present party organization, it is common to hear it defended by the argument that parties are necessary in the conduct of a popular government; and the argument can be sustained by very sound and eloquent passages out of Burke and many another public man of the English-speaking peoples who has seen below the surface of affairs and convinced us of the real philosophy of our form of government; but the argument is quite aside from the point. Of course parties are necessary. They are not only necessary, but desirable, in order that conviction upon great public questions may be organized and bodies of men of like opinion and purpose brought together in effective and habitual coöperation. Successful, orderly popular government is impossible without them. But the argument for our own particular organization of parties is quite another matter. That organization is undoubtedly necessary in the circumstances, but you cannot prove its necessity out of Burke or any other man who made permanent analysis of liberty. We could have parties without organizing them in this particular way. There have been parties in free governments time out of mind and in many parts of the world, but never anywhere else an organization of parties like our own.

And yet that organization is for the time being nec-

essary. It centres, as everybody knows, in the nominating machinery. There could be no party organization if our elective system were literally carried out as it was intended to be, by the actual direct and informal selection of every officer of government, not by party agents or leaders, but by the scattered voters of the thousand neighbourhoods of a vast country. It was necessary to devise some machinery by which these innumerable choices should be coördinated and squared with party lines. It was a huge business and called for a compact and efficient organization.

Moreover, there was more than the process of selection to be overseen and directed. Students of our political methods have not often enough brought into their reckoning the great diversity of social and economic interest and development which has existed among the different sections and regions of this various country, which even yet shows every stage and variety of growth and make-up and an extraordinary mixture of races and elements of population. It has been necessary to keep this miscellaneous body together by continual exterior pressure, to give it a common direction and consciousness of purpose by sheer force of organization, if political action was not to become hopelessly confused and disordered. It was not conscious of any immediate solidarity of interest or object. It might have broken up into a score of groups and coteries. We might have had more parties than France, as many sections of political opinion as there were distinctly marked regions of population and development. Party interest has been kept alive, party energy stimulated, by entrusting to local agents and leaders the duty of seeing to it that systematic party nominations were regularly made and urged upon the voters by organized campaigns, whether there was any natural reason or not why, in any given locality, this party or that should be preferred; and national parties have been pieced together out of these local fragments. The creation of

the parts was necessary to the creation of the whole. I do not know how else co-ordinated parties could have been made out of such heterogeneous materials and such diversified interests.

The result has been that the nominating machinery has become the backbone of party organization. By it local leaders are rewarded with influence or office, are kept loyal, watchful and energetic. By it national majorities are pieced together. If one goes back to the source of this matter, therefore, it is easy to see that the nominating machine was no barnacle, but a natural growth, the natural fruit of a system which made it necessary to elect every officer of government. The voter has not the leisure and, therefore, has not the knowledge for the difficult and intricate business. He cannot organize a government every year or two, make up its whole personnel, apply its punishments and rewards, effect its dismissals and promotions. Neither is there any officer or any group of officers of the government itself who can organize it for him, for no officer has the legal authority. The structure of the government is disintegrated by the law itself, so far as its personnel is concerned. The constitutions and statutes by which the officers are created endeavor, of course, to integrate their functions; but they disintegrate their personnel by making each officer the direct choice of the voters. The only possible means of integration lies outside governments, therefore, and is extra-legal. It is the nominating machine. The machine applies the necessary discipline of administration and keeps the separately elected officers of one mind in the performance of their duties,—loyal to an exterior organization.

The punishment it inflicts is definitely and clearly understood. It will not renominate any man who when in office has been disobedient to party commands. It can in effect dismiss from office. Any one who wishes to remain in public life, at any rate in the smaller and less conspicuous offices within the gift of the managers,

must keep in their good graces. Independence offends the machine deeply, disobedience it will not tolerate at all. Its watchfulness never flags; its discipline is continuous and effective. It is the chief instrument of party government under our system of elections.

Thus have we necessitated the setting-up outside the government of what we were afraid ourselves to set up inside of it: concentrated power, administrative discipline, the authority to appoint and dismiss. For the power to nominate is virtually the power to appoint and to dismiss, as Professor Ford has pointed out in his lucid and convincing "Rise and Growth of American Politics." It is exercised by the bosses, instead of by responsible officers of the government,—by the men who have charge of the nominating machinery: men who are themselves often entirely outside the government as legally constituted, hold no office, do not ask the people for their suffrages, and are picked out for their function by private processes over which the people have no control whatever. They are private citizens and exercise their powers of oversight and management without any public invitation of any kind. Just because there are innumerable offices to be filled by election, just because there are long and elaborate tickets to be made up, just because it needs close and constant attention to the matter to perform the duty of selection successfully,—as careful and constant attention as the superintendent of a great business or the head of a great government bureau has to exercise in selecting and keeping up the personnel of his factory, his office, or his bureau,—it cannot possibly be done by the voters as a body. It requires too much knowledge and too much judgment, bestowed upon little offices without number as well as upon great. No officer of the government is authorized to appoint or select. Party managers must undertake it, therefore, who are not officers of the government; and their nominations are virtual appointments if they belong to the successful party. The voters

only choose as between the selections, the appointees, of the one party boss or the other. It is out of the question for them to make independent selections of their own.

If this machine, thus bossed and administered, is an outside power over which the voter has no control,—which he can defeat only occasionally, when, in a fervor of reform, he prefers the candidates of some temporary amateur machine (that is, nominating apparatus) set up by some volunteer “committee of one hundred” which has undertaken a rescue,—it is the system which is to blame, not the politicians. Somebody, amateurs or professionals, must supply what they supply. We have created the situation and must either change it or abide by its results with such patience and philosophy as we can command.

Our efforts at reform have been singularly misdirected. For years we laboured at the reform of the ballot itself, as if the way we printed it and the way we voted it were at fault. We adopted the so-called Australian method of voting, for example; isolated the voter in a closed booth, made it as easy as possible in the circumstances for him to mark and alter his ballot unscrutinized and unmolested, and passed laws which gave groups of voters not formally organized as parties the right to put names in nomination on the official ballot which had not passed through the party caucus or any other part of the machine. Finally in many of the States where the ardour of non-partisan action was warmest, we forbade the placing of any party sign or symbol at the head of the list of candidates printed on the official ballot, contrived a blanket ballot on which the names of all nominees were printed in impartial alphabetical order under the names of the several offices for which they had been nominated, so that the voter,—such was our unsophisticated hope,—might choose the best man for each office without regard to who had nominated him, whether a regular party ma-

chine or a group of independent voters nominating by petition. I have seen a ballot of this kind which contained seven hundred names. It was bigger than the page of a newspaper and was printed in close columns as a newspaper would be. Of course no voter who is not a trained politician, who has not watched the whole process of nomination carefully, who does not know a great deal about the derivation and character and association of every nominee it contains, can vote a ticket like that with intelligence. In nine cases out of ten, as it has turned out, he will simply mark the first name under each office, and the candidates whose names come highest in the alphabetical order will be elected. There are cases on record where shrewd seekers of office have had their names changed to names beginning with some letter at the head of the alphabet preparatory to candidacy on such a ballot, knowing that they had no chance of election otherwise. And of course politicians govern themselves accordingly in choosing a winning ticket. They are always the professionals, whatever system of choice you oblige them to employ, and always know better than any one else the actual results of the processes used.

It is very desirable to have secret voting to protect the voter against scrutiny or any kind of coercion, direct or indirect; it may be very desirable to have non-partisan nominations; but no secret or non-partisan device can make it possible for the voter to use such ballots intelligently or to pick out his own candidates for office when there are a multitude of offices to be filled. It is the size and variety of the ballot that perplexes and baffles him, be he never so intelligent and never so anxious to vote for the best candidates. He cannot possibly make himself acquainted with the individual claims of the men whose names appear on these long lists. Many of the offices he is voting to fill are themselves as obscure as the men who have been nominated to occupy them. He is not interested in the list as a whole.

A few conspicuous names upon it, candidates for the greater offices, he may have heard something about, a candidate for Congress or for the Governorship of his State, but the rest are mere names to him. It is impossible that he should discriminate. He is excusable if he presently comes to think of the whole thing as a farce and for feeling that, do what he will, the politicians will take him in. He has in any event no choice but to put himself in their hands. It is too occult a business for him to fathom.

The result is the unchecked power of the irresponsible politician; and some of the consequences are painfully interesting. Since the choice of candidates for office is a matter of private arrangement; since nominees thus chosen are our lawmakers, and our lawmakers by the same token appointees of the nominating machine, it follows very naturally that public business loses its public character and becomes itself a matter of private arrangement. It is settled in private conferences at State capitals and at Washington, not by public discussion, and the voters are informed what was actually agreed upon after an election, not before it. The Secretary of the Treasury smilingly informed a public audience the other evening that the monetary commission of which Senator Aldrich is chairman, and which is expected to recommend to Congress well-considered measures for the reform of our banking and currency systems, would probably not make its report until after the next Congressional elections. The plain inference was that the commission thought it best, before making its report, to wait and see which party would be in control of Congress, and thought it imprudent to let their conclusions be known before the elections for fear that they might in some way affect the result. In short, they deemed it best that the people should not be given an opportunity to discuss or express an opinion upon their own affairs, upon some of the most important and far-reaching questions now awaiting their decision! Judge

by the sample. Elections must be managed by the subtle alchemy of nomination, with as little regard to public questions as possible, and then the appointees of the successful managers must decide those questions in the best interest of the party in power.

It is thus that the public business is managed with as careful privacy as the business of any private corporation. Corporations will, indeed, when they are well and wisely managed, often take the public more into their confidence than the managers of government do, in order to enhance the credit of the corporation and increase or steady the value of its securities in the money-market, as well as the sale of its products. But politicians are very secretive. They have become so by the habit of the system. Debate has fallen out of fashion in our legislative assemblies because the business of those assemblies is for the most part discussed and prepared by committees. The sittings of their committees are seldom public, except upon extraordinary occasions. Even when they are public few persons except those directly and privately interested attend, and the matter is too particular, too much like a mere single item of the session, to attract the attention of the ordinary newspaper. The business of legislation, therefore, like that of nomination, is for the most part conducted in private by the conference of small groups of men under party discipline. The public is not present either in fact or in thought. Committeemen get into the habit of being reticent and silent about what occurred in the committee-room and soon find themselves under the impression that it is their own private affair, anyway.

The habit spreads to the deliberative bodies themselves. Boards of Aldermen will often refuse to open their debates to reporters or to publish the names of those who voted *Aye* or *No* in the division when the debate was ended. And on the administrative side much of what is to be done or proposed is agreed upon by private conference between the executives of our cities

and States and the party managers,—sometimes the managers who appear in public and are known, sometimes those who keep in the background and occupy no office, but are nevertheless omnipotent in matters of nomination and who wish the executive business of the government to be carried on in a way which will not embarrass them. And so, wherever we turn, we find the intimate business of government sealed up in confidences of every kind: confidences against the people with regard to their own affairs, confidences with regard to the way in which their interests are to be served and safeguarded. Public discussions are the mere formal dress parade of politics.

It was very amusing, when Mr. Roosevelt was President, to notice how seasoned politicians shivered when he spoke in public,—shivered at his terrible indiscretions, his frank revelations, whenever he chose, of what was going on inside political circles, his nonchalant failure to keep any confidences whatever that he chose to make public use of. He spoke of any inside matter he pleased, as if it were the people's privilege to know what was going on within their government. He may have chosen and chosen very astutely which confidences to keep, which to break, but he was strong and popular in proportion as he broke them and gave the people the impression that he was really telling them all he knew about their business, about the men and the motives which were retarding the proper transaction of their business and the proper correction of the abuses under which they were suffering at the hands of men who enjoyed the confidence and protection of the managing politicians.

There is no ground for wonder that under a system under which it is constant hide-and-seek to discover who is responsible, to find out where public action originates and whither it is tending, this system of confidences should have sprung up. I do not know that any one in particular is to blame. But the situation is certainly

extraordinary and makes it thoroughly worth while to inquire how the people may be reintroduced into their own affairs.

It is high time. The people must be brought into their own again. They have been excluded from free and effective participation in their own governments too long,—so long that a universal distrust of representative methods of government has sprung up, a universal suspicion that there is nowhere any candor or honesty in the administration of public business, and we are in danger of revolutionary processes, of very radical changes which might be as futile as what we have already attempted by way of reform, while all the while a remedy, a very simple remedy, is at hand. We have not fallen upon these evil ways by any one's sinister intention or machinations, but the fact is the same. The system we are under, though nobody invented it to cheat the people, has grown up and does cheat the people and must be done away with by very definite intention.

There is no reason to despair, or even to tire, of representative government. It has not failed as some suppose, because it is representative and not direct. It has come near to breaking down only because it is not representative, only because the people of this country are prevented by the system of elections in which they have become entangled from electing representatives of their own choice. The people of other countries are not prevented. They manage to get their will very directly expressed, alike in legislation and in the administration of their governments. Foreign cities, for example, succeed excellently well, as well as it is reasonable ever to expect to succeed in matters of such magnitude and complexity, in getting their affairs administered in the way a majority of their people really wish them to be administered. Most of the badly governed cities of the civilized world are on this side of the Atlantic, most of the well governed on the other side; and the rea-

son is not accidental. It has nothing to do with differences of capacity or of virtue or of theory, nothing to do with differences of principle or of national character. It results from differences of organization of the most fundamental and important kind which cut to the very roots of the whole matter.

Let the city of Glasgow serve as an example. It is known as one of the best-governed cities in the world, is a thoroughly modern city teeming with factories and with the movements of a great commerce and handling a vast population under many a natural disadvantage, and its government is not in any essential particular peculiar to itself. It is a sample, though a favourable sample, of the way in which most European cities, great and small, are governed. Its administration is entirely in the hands of its municipal council, which has a membership of thirty-two. The mayor of the city has no independent executive powers. He is merely chairman of the council and titular head of the city when it needs a public representative on formal occasions, when it welcomes guests or undertakes a ceremonious function. There is no upper and lower chamber of the council: it is a single body. It is not a legislature. No city council is. It is an administrative body conducting the business of a great chartered corporation. Its members are elected by the voters of the city by wards, one councilman for each ward. The voter's connection with the government of the city is very simple. He votes for only one person, the councilman from his ward. That is his whole ticket.

In its simplicity lies his power. He does not need the assistance of professional politicians to pick out a single candidate for a single conspicuous office. Any group of interested or public-spirited neighbours can do that. And the simple structure of the city's government enables him to follow his representative throughout every vote and act of administration. The council divides itself into committees, a committee for each

branch of the city's business. All the actual executive servants of the city are appointed and are the responsible agents of the several committees under which they serve. All business is public, whether transacted by the council as a whole or by its committees. Everything that is done or agreed upon is published in full in the "Glasgow Herald," with the votes taken and the names of those who voted this way or that. By a mere glance at his morning paper the voter can keep his eye upon his own particular representative and know what he is doing, whether in the council or in the committee to which he has been assigned. His votes speak for themselves. His responsibility is unmistakable. Another candidate may easily be nominated if his record is unsatisfactory and a whole campaign centred, so far as that ward is concerned, upon the definite question of a choice between this man and that. That is representative government. If all the officials of the city government, or even the chief of them, were elected upon a common ticket it would not be. A machine would be necessary, amateur or professional, and the direct representative principle would, in fact, disappear.

The same idea underlies one of the most interesting reforms that has recently been undertaken in our own cities. Following the example of Galveston, in Texas, a number of our cities have obtained from the legislatures of their States charters which authorize them to put their administration entirely in the hands of a small commission consisting generally of only five or six persons. The voter's attention is concentrated upon this commission both at election-time and throughout the course of its administration. This ticket of five or six names is the only ticket he is called upon to vote. The results have in several cases been extremely satisfactory, though the experiment has nowhere been of long enough standing to justify the formation of a confident or final judgment as to its ultimate effects. The commission has felt the responsibility and has responded to it.

The voters have known by whom they were being governed and the nominating machine has, of course, sunk into insignificance. It remains a question, however, whether the load imposed upon the commission is not too heavy, whether it is fair to hold so small a body of men wholly responsible for the successful administration of a modern city. Can five men, by any feasible division of labour, so long as a working day has only a limited number of hours in it and every man must take a little sleep and recreation, master the affairs committed to their charge in sufficient detail really to keep them clear of inefficiency and abuse? It will probably turn out that it requires a considerably larger body of men really to direct and control matters of such magnitude and variety. But that need not result in putting a greater burden on the voter and bringing the nominating machine again into existence as his indispensable assistant and ultimate master. He need not be made to vote for the whole body upon a common ticket. He need only vote for the representative from his own ward. The essential thing is that his task should be comprehensible and manageable, that the men he is called upon to vote for should be so few that he can select them for himself or at least easily judge the action of those who do select them.

That this is the simple and effectual solution of the matter, the certain means of restoring to the people a genuine choice of representatives and by the same token a genuine representative government, is no matter of conjecture. It has been tried in every country but our own, until we began to set up governments by commission, and has had the desired result. It is not a panacea. It is a conclusion of obvious common sense. If the trouble is that we have given the people an impossible task in asking them to choose the whole personnel of our governments, and have thereby put them in the hands of persons to whom they are, by reason of its very complexity, obliged to depute it, the obvious

remedy is to make their task simple and practicable, to make it something that they can do and can take an interest in doing without neglecting their daily business and turning politicians. We have been mistaken,—this is the long and short of the matter,—in supposing that we were giving the people control of their governments by making all offices elective. We actually, as a matter of fact and of experience, put them in control only when we make only the chief, the really responsible offices elective, allow those whom we elect to appoint all minor officials, all executive agents, and hold them strictly responsible as the superintendents of our business. Our own experience has been very instructive in this matter in particulars which we have not enough observed. For example, the Governor of New Jersey, like the Governors of one or two other States of the Union, is entrusted with the power of appointing all the judges of the State, and the bench of New Jersey is famous for its excellence, much more famous than the bench of neighbouring States whose judges are elected. The State has had Governors good, bad, and indifferent, but all alike have made excellent appointments to the bench. They could share the responsibility with no one and it was a very conspicuous responsibility. In that matter if in no other the eye of public opinion was centred upon them personally, not merely upon their party. They could not venture to do that thing ill or in the interest of any coterie or machine. It always operates so, though we have not always taken note of the fact or understood the scope of the inference.

The short ballot is the short and open way by which we can return to representative government. It has turned out that the methods of organization which lead to efficiency in government are also the methods which give the people control. The busy owner is more effectually in control if he appoints a capable superintendent and holds him responsible for the conduct of the business than he would be if he undertook himself to choose

all the subordinate agents and workmen and superintend both them and the superintendent; and the business is also better conducted,—incomparably better conducted. What the voters of the country are now attempting is not only impossible, but also undesirable if we desire good government. Such a charter as that of the city of New York, for example, is a mere system of obscurity and of inefficiency. It disperses responsibility, multiplies elective offices beyond all reason or necessity, and makes both of the government itself and of its control by the voters a game of hide-and-seek in a labyrinth. Nothing could have been devised better suited to the uses of the professional politician, nothing susceptible of being more perfectly articulated with the nominating machine. As a means of popular government, it is not worth the bother and expense of an election.

Simplicity is necessary in government as in business, for unity, for responsibility, for efficiency, and for control: these four are, indeed, as a matter of experience, almost interchangeable and equivalent words. You cannot form or execute a judgment either in business or in politics without some such system of coherence and simplicity.

Simplicity does not involve, in the case of government, a return to any of the abuses we have partially corrected. We did begin at the wrong end when we devoted the ardour and labour of years of reform to the mere reform of the existing civil service, to the introduction of a system of qualification for appointment to office by examination. We should have begun by making more offices appointive and the business of appointing so conspicuous and responsible a thing that those who undertook it could not afford to make appointments upon any principle of favoritism, could not afford to serve their own private objects in making them or any private interest whatever. But responsible officers need not object, will not object, to being themselves protected

and assisted by a system of qualifying examinations for appointment. They should and probably would prefer it. It is a sensible and serviceable system and secures the public service against many a minor abuse which might creep in even if those who made appointments made them with full responsibility to public opinion,—in the fierce, revealing light that beats upon every act of personal power. The instrumentalities we have already created would prove more serviceable than ever.

It is a very interesting and very vital thing to have come back to our original problem, to be obliged thus to become once more thoughtful partisans of genuine democracy. The issue is nothing less. What we need is a radical reform of our electoral system, and the proper reform will be a return to democracy. It is the high duty of every lover of political liberty to become a partisan of such a reform if once he becomes convinced of it. Another great age of American politics will have dawned when men seek once more the means to establish the rights of the people and forget parties and private interests to serve a nation.

BANKERS AND STATESMANSHIP

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY BANKERS' ASSOCIATION AT ATLANTIC CITY, MAY 6, 1910. FROM THE "PROCEEDINGS" OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW JERSEY BANKERS' ASSOCIATION, PP. 81-87.

YOU haven't had the same motive for waiting here so long that I have had. I have been waiting here with much the feeling I heard expressed by an old darky the other day. His master found him in the middle of the morning lying in the shadow of a tree, and said, "What are you doing here, Rube, resting?" "Resting? No, sir; I ain't tired; I just waiting for time to quit work."

I wish I could deceive you with regard to the hour. A fellow Virginian of mine was caught in an embarrassing situation once. He went home in the small hours in the morning the worse for wear and inadvertently awakened his wife, who said severely, "John, what time is it?" He said, "My dear, it is just about midnight." He had hardly spoken the words when the clock struck three. She said, "What do you make of that?" He said, "My dear, would you believe that damn Yankee invention against the word of a Southern gentleman?" I beg you to take the word of a Southern gentleman that it is still early in the evening.

I was very much struck with the implicit faith my friend George Bryan put in bankers though he had seen them intimately and behind the scenes. That was a very handsome thing he said about you. It made me determined to advise you of a suggestion of the late Tom Reed. On one occasion General Gordon, then

senator from Georgia, was in the cloak room of the Senate with Mr. Joseph Choate and Mr. Tom Reed. Mr. Choate was then representing before the Supreme Court, in a trial that was attracting a great deal of attention, a great corporation which was in bad odour, and Mr. Gordon said, "It must be rather trying, isn't it, to be placed in that position just now?" "Not at all," said Choate. "I think my client is entirely right. Indeed," he added, "I have never represented a client until convinced that his cause was entirely just." "My!" said Gordon, "that is a fine thing to be able to say. I wish I could say it." "Well," said Reed, "why don't you? Choate did."

That justifies me in repeating the compliment that Mr. Bryan has paid you. George did, why shouldn't I?

I have had the misfortune of speaking—or I have had the good fortune and my audiences have had the misfortune of hearing me speak—at public banquets now for some twenty odd years, and I have witnessed a very interesting change in the temper of banquetters. When I first began attending public dinners it was absolutely necessary that an after-dinner speaker should confine himself to the lightest possible manner. If he inserted anything that was intended to be instructive, it was necessary that he insert it surreptitiously and convey it by means of some excellent story; but for some reason or other, gentlemen, we have been growing more and more serious and men get together after dinner now to consider some very weighty matters. The truth is that this country has come in these recent years to the insights of mature age, when it no longer feels unreasoning confidence in its powers; when it realizes that certain difficulties have collected in its path, certain very undesirable practices have grown up in its public and in its private affairs, which it is necessary to take counsel about, if the right guidance is to be secured for the country and the right integrity lent it in respect to its leadership and its business.

Dishonesty, gentlemen, and what we now call graft, is not a new thing. It is as old as business and as old as politics. It is no less serious because it is old, but we must not regard it as a singular portent which marks our age as inferior to the ages which have preceded it. The only thing which need give us serious concern is that some of the forms which dishonesty takes in our days are portentous,—not because they are forms of dishonesty, but because the scale is so gigantic, because the opportunity or field is so great. I believe, with Mr. Joline, that the conscience of this country is sound. I believe that thoughtful men all over this country recognize that which is righteous when they see it and desire that which is righteous in all their transactions. The difficulty is not about our moral standards. The difficulty is about the application of those standards to very complex matters. In the old days when morality was a matter of individual choice it was comparatively easy to assess the individual, but in our days morality is not a matter of separate individual choice. It is a matter of corporate arrangement and the individual choice is subordinated. Therefore, we have to reckon men's morality now as if they were fractions and not as if they were integers,—not as if they were units, but as if they were subordinate parts of great complicated wholes.

We are apt, as we have shown, to make very egregious blunders in assessing men in these circumstances. We have put the blame oftentimes upon the wrong man. We have let the men really to blame go scot free and have praised them, elevated them to an undeserved fame, not because we are not desirous of being just, but because we are confused by the multitudinous complexity of the scene in which we move. The opportunities for evil are now greater than they were because evil is fathered by bold combination and not individuality, just as good and very indispensable good is fathered by combination and not individually. And we are in danger, unless we make a very careful analysis of our

life, of impairing and impeding the legitimate undertakings in order to get at the illegitimate. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we should know what our subject matter is in order to be able to apply the sound, wholesome standards of the general public interest to the settlement of the problem.

What is our problem? We conceive it to be the absence of that sort of free competition which used to make monopoly almost impossible. The competitors were once many; they are now few, and those who compete are gigantic combinations rather than individuals. Where the competitors are few and powerful the danger is much greater than when they were numerous and individually weak. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that we should make up our minds what the standard is we are going to hold up in judging transactions in our day. You know what the standard used to be; it was individual honesty. Individual honesty, I take leave to say, is, in our days, not often justly called in question. Some of the men who have done real damage in the business of this country have been individually unimpeachable men, above every form of personal dishonesty, but exercising a power, a tremendous power, so unwisely and so selfishly that what they did operated against the public interest. What we wish to determine, therefore, is a new standard; not the standard of mere personal honesty. I would not, by emphasis on the word mere, seem to depress my estimate of individual honesty, for there is no finer thing in the world; there is no safer foundation for a nation than the integrity of the individual. But, what we need is a new vision of the use to which honest men should be put, and that standard is the standard of motive and object rather than the standard of honesty. It is the standard of discriminating the objects we have in view and the instruments we use to attain them, the objects rather than our mere individual incentives in the transaction.

I am not stating these things to you in order to sug-

gest remedies. I am not stating them as an introduction to a political discussion of any kind. I am stating them to you because I believe bankers have a great deal to do with the setting up and the maintenance of the standards of business.

The scale of modern business is so vast, the combinations necessarily effected for the transaction of modern business are so great that every combination, every trust, as we call it, is, of necessity, a public combination and a public trust. Its service and its standard cannot be private. It makes one tremble sometimes to think how secretly great combinations may be effected. You do not need to have me mention names or cite particular instances to remind you that some of the greatest railway combinations, some of the greatest banking combinations have been effected without anybody knowing of them until long afterwards. Who was the individual or who were the individuals who effected the combination? You know that the men who ostensibly appear as the officers of the organizations thus combined have in many instances had no choice, no part or voice in the combination. The danger, often, is not in the combination but in the secrecy of the process, in the inconspicuous part which is played by men whom the public can't pick out as doing definite things for which somebody ought to be held responsible.

I understand that my colleague, Professor Meeker, was discussing with you this afternoon the arguments for a central bank. You are, of course, aware, gentlemen, that a combination of banks in the city of New York now practically exercises all the powers of a central bank except the power of issue, and exercises that power without any of the public responsibility which a central bank organized by Federal statute would necessarily have imposed upon it.

I am not jealous of the power of honest men, but I am jealous of the secrecy of the power even of honest men. And I maintain that the standard to which they

must be held, the standard to which you must be held, is not the interest of your individual enterprises, not the interests of the commercial classes or of the manufacturing classes of this country alone, but the interests of the nation and the people as a whole; that the public interest is now the standard of morality,—not honesty, not the ability to resist a bribe, not refraining from taking advantage of an illegitimate opportunity, but gauging the great business of great undertakings by the interest of the nation and the people who compose the nation and whose blood and energy enrich the nation.

You, gentlemen, are trading in the capacities of a great and free people. Anything that checks and chills and discourages these capacities deprives you of the very sinews which constitute the strength of your own enterprise. If you ignore for any single moment the interests of the people of the United States, thought of as a unit, you have begun those processes of danger and decay which will ultimately result in bringing your very pet enterprises to a quick and disastrous end.

Now, the point that I wish to make with you is this: What have bankers to do with these questions, which are questions of statesmanship? What have bankers to do with the general interest? Is it not sufficient if they conduct their own business with integrity and propriety and play the game according to its rules? No, it is not sufficient.

I would have you believe that it is the duty of the banker to distinguish big risks from small and to recognize that the biggest risk a banker can take is by lending the money, the resources of the country, to enterprises which are contrary to the public interest. I exhort you in the name of the welfare of this country to pick out the enterprises to which you loan money upon the basis of the public interest, to reject those which are conducted by questionable men; to reject those, no matter what profits they may supply you with, which

are conducted by questionable methods; to reject those whose object in the long run is not the promotion of the general interest.

There is another thing which seems to me the real interest of bankers and the clear duty of bankers, and that is to seek the new objects to which money may be devoted. I sometimes think that this country has too much fallen in love with established successes. The future of this country does not rest with established successes. The future rests with success not yet achieved. The men upon whom established enterprises now depend will die.

Mr. Bryan has asked you, are you breeding men to take their places by encouraging those who merit encouragement? I ask you, are you encouraging new enterprises? Are you seeing to it that the energy of this country is renewed from generation to generation,—is refreshed with those bold individuals here and there who venture upon novel enterprises, who show the courage of initiative in novel fields, who seek to gain your support for men to whom the future appeals. The conquest of the present is incomparably insignificant as compared with the conquest of the future; and the future conquests of this country lie with novel enterprises. For we have come upon a novel age,—novel in this respect, that we can no longer play the childish game of using what we supposed were inexhaustible resources without any conscience as to the waste we commit. Up to this time the incomparable resources of this country have been put at the disposal by our governments, state and national, of anybody who would use them; but at last we know that we are upon the eve of their exhaustion and the great masters of finance and industry of the future are to be the men who know how to husband resources, renew resources, economize resources, combine resources in such a way that there shall be no waste of energy, no mistaking of forecast, no dependence upon anything except the intelli-

gence, thoroughness and capacity with which the business is conducted. (Applause.)

Moreover,—and I don't say this because of my political convictions, but because I believe it to be unquestionably pertinent to my present remarks,—moreover, we have passed the age when business can be conducted by the patronage of the government. Our tariffs have ceased to be protective and have become systems of patronage. The future in this country belongs to the man who can succeed without patronage; and he who cannot succeed without patronage is not the man of whom we have boasted when we have thought hitherto, of the use and capacity of Americans' brains.

We have in recent generations run to Washington for assistance because, forsooth, we had lost the American birthright of succeeding by our wits. We have sought to be protected against the greater economy, the greater studiousness, the greater mechanical skill, the greater scientific knowledge of the German manufacturer and miner. We have sought to be protected against brains and capacity and the hour has struck when we must cease to be protected against brains and capacity.

Now, gentlemen, as bankers, are you going to pour your money into the channels of patronage or are you going to pour it into the inexhaustible fountains of original power? Are you going to go on having a nursed and coddled nation, coddled by your encouragement as well as by the encouragement of the government, or are you going to go back to the native strength of America which needs no assistance? America has come to her day of reckoning,—not a day of disaster, but a day when she shall have to reckon with other nations as to who has the better brains for the competitions, the sharp and universal competitions of modern business. We conquered the world once by our visions, gentlemen. We conquered men by feeding their hope of a political millennium when all men should be free and all men should be equal. We shall have to make

another spiritual conquest,—not, perhaps, in the field of politics, for men are men under whatever government they live and human nature must have its errors corrected by law under democratic systems as well as under monarchical systems. We shall have to make the conquest of men now by a new ideal of endeavour, by a new willingness to submit our brains and our ingenuity to the universal pressure of the eager action of a world drawn together by all the instrumentalities of trade, drawn together by a cable and telegraph, drawn together by those instrumentalities which seem the voice of the wind itself, in the wireless telegraph; drawn together by the quick-moving ship and it may be by the quick-moving ship of the air, into one community in which it will be a day of shame for any race that cannot stand upon its feet and take the fruits of the game according to its merits.

This day of maturity and responsibility has dawned upon us and the men who handle the accumulated deposits or accumulated monetary resources of the nation are the men who will preside in these processes of independent endeavour. Gentlemen, the age has come when if you are not statesmen you cannot be bankers. The day has dawned in which you will find that unless you understand the public interest you will not know how to serve any private interest whatever. The day has come when a new patriotism will dawn upon us, not the patriotism merely of the statesmen and the man who gives public counsels, but the patriotism which comes out of every counting room, out of every office, out of every place where business takes its origination and its inspiration; and then the world shall again see an America which will show the way to liberty, to peace, and to achievement. (Great applause.)

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS.

LAST ADDRESS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, JUNE 12,
1910. FROM ORIGINAL TYPEWRITTEN MANUSCRIPT
BEARING MR. WILSON'S OWN CORRECTIONS, AT THE
LIBRARY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.—II Corinthians IV, 18.

THIS is inevitably a day of reckoning. This is a turning point in your lives: a day of endings and of beginnings. We cannot choose but stop and ask what it signifies, what profit and loss there is as we look backward, and what confidence as we look forward. We must examine so much of life as we have had; and as we look we realize that "we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen," and perceive, as we never perceived before, that "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." It is an old and very familiar text: now at last we are in a way to see what it means.

Your Commencement has come. Your own particular year and month in the annals of the college; and you find it a season of singular contrasts. Everyone else about you is gay, but you are sad. It is your particular season, the month and year and day to which you have looked forward with hope and ambition for four years,—it may be for longer,—it may be ever since you formed at school the wish to go to college and to become a son of Princeton; and yet your spirits flag. There is a dull ache at your heart, and no gayety, no light ardour of enjoyment. For the other men who crowd the town, the graduates of other days, it is a season of reunion, but

for you it is a time of parting. Your mood is more like that of the old gentlemen who graduated fifty years ago than like that of the men who graduated last year. They miss their old friends and are sad, knowing that they will see them no more: you are parting friend from friend and fear that you will see each other no more. And the life of these four years, the life that has bound you together, that you know you are breaking with forever. This little world in which you have lived and been happy together you now turn away from and abandon. You can never reconstruct it again. It is a thing already finished. It does not comfort you that you will, many of you, be back again a year hence, happy to be reunited, because you know that you will not all be here at any time again. You will then be happy over nothing but fragments of this complete and beautiful thing that you have had, the life that was so much your own and of your own making.

I do not have to imagine what you feel. I know; for I have felt it in days which will never seem to me very long ago. I have lived here now twenty years as a member of the faculty and the work of Princeton has become part of the very warp and woof of my life; but it has never in all those years been for a single moment the same Princeton for me that it was in the magical years that ran their cheerful course from the exciting autumn of 1875 to the gracious June of 1879. The four years of college life can never be repeated or reconstructed. They stand unique in every man's experience to whom they mean anything at all.

But you would not turn back. Your sadness is not the sadness of foreboding. You are not sad because you stand at the threshold of another life, but only because you are at the end of a life you loved. You are conscious of being readier for the things that lie ahead of you because of the days that lie behind you, for all you turn away from those days so reluctantly. You came here a body of strangers from all parts of the coun-

try, bred in many ways, under many influences, youngsters of every degree of rawness and inexperience, and you are now a homogeneous body of classmates, men who have learned a common lesson, comrades in a single school of experience and of principle. It is because you have all been wrought upon alike that you share so consciously the feeling of the day. You are keenly aware of the influences that have formed and united you here. They have become very familiar and very dear to you. They seem part of your very selves. It is hard to think of yourselves as scattered again to the four quarters of the country, shaken apart as individuals again, broken up into your units. You know how the common influences have worked upon you and it renders you uneasy, unhappy even, to be drawn out of them as if for ever. It is the feeling you had when you left home.

But you have never in fact left off feeling the influence of home, have you? You never can leave off. Those impressions are indelible. So are also the impressions you have received here. I wonder if you have taken stock of them. You think that it is your friendships that have governed and formed you here, the daily experiences of the campus life, the four years together in a various comradeship. But you cannot dissect the facts in that way. It is the whole Princeton that has gripped you and grappled you thus. That is the reason this cannot be a day of endings for you, why it is in reality a day fuller of what is to come than of what has gone by. What is shaking you to-day is in reality the throb of this puissant place as a whole: the throb of what Princeton has put into you.

Princeton does not consist, has never consisted, of you and your classmates. Here men come and go, the men of her faculty and trustees as well as the men of her classes, but her force is not abated. She fails not of the impressions she makes. Her men are formed from generation to generation as if by a spirit that survives

all persons and all circumstances. There is a sense, a very real sense, not mystical but plain fact of experience, in which the spirit of truth, of knowledge, of hope, of revelation, dwells in a place like this, as it were inevitably, unless it be wholly decayed or demoralized. It has made some things certain for you, permanently and beyond conjecture. It has not left your minds fluid, volatile, escaping all mould and form. There must be very few of you, if there be any, who have failed to get a definite undoubting grasp of some things that have here become certitudes for you. How could you feel at home here, else? How could you love a place that had left you groping and in the dark, the puzzled plaything of conjecture and blank surmise? Mere comradeships and pleasures cannot have satisfied you. You must have been fed upon something and been nourished.

I am not now thinking of knowledge so much as of what certainly underlies all knowledge. I do not mean merely that you have acquired certain definite information here which may serve you always as the material upon which your thought will feed. Information is no great matter. It changes from age to age, is often altered, and can be made to take a thousand shapes. I am thinking, rather, of what lies behind all knowledge, gives it colour, significance, variety. Science, for example, alters its allegations of fact from decade to decade, alters even its theories and hypotheses, but it does not alter its method. You feel that solid under your feet, do you not, as you have traversed it in the classroom and in the laboratory? It has made the world for you not a place for children and for ignorant guesses, but a place of definite ascertainable phenomena to be candidly and discerningly sought out and rationally explained by careful and clarified processes of reason. You know that the mind can be used as an instrument of precision and also as an instrument of definition when once it has mastered that thing of enlightenment, the method of

science. There is one certitude for you. The physical world need not remain the realm of conjecture.

You are certain also, are you not, that there are definite comprehensible practices, immutable principles of government and of right conduct in the dealing of men with one another. The narratives, whether of history or of biography, are faulty, no doubt full of errors and of circumstances misapprehended, but you cannot doubt that the main lines are drawn with substantial accuracy and truth; you cannot be uncertain how it is that men come by happiness or failure; you are sure that there is such a thing as justice and a noble force in men who are righteous and love the truth; you perceive that some governments are free, some tyrannous and cruel, that there is a way of freedom and of peace and a way of certitude and strife in the affairs of men, and that it is all a rewarding study of human life in its realities, in its actual habit as it lives,—that you have looked in the face of life, very noble, very tragical, full at once of pathos and of hope.

And the literature you have studied and the philosophy you have read under wise masters. Have they not yielded you something that you will not henceforth doubt? All the great books of any language are records of the human spirit, the voices of men like yourselves who speak to you the secrets of your own souls as well as theirs. You enter a wide comradeship when you read them. You are made free of the company of all men everywhere; as you are also in your study of philosophy, where is the same thing unfolded in orderly and formal fashion, with the insight of interpretation, as if life were read for you by men of science.

Surely you cannot be bewildered now. The world can no longer be to you a place of vague conjectures and childish ifs and buts, a play whose rules are guesses. And yet this is not information. This is not knowledge. You know very little. You are a good deal at sea in respect of your facts. You are glad your definite ex-

aminations are behind you. You have been made certain only of what sort of world it is you live in and how you should handle yourselves in it. The things you have been rendered certain of are intangible, but more actual, authentic, infallible than facts themselves. They represent the human spirit in command of the facts. They are the laws and masteries of the mind. They are the spiritual processes and realities by which we are made sure of life. Life is made definite and manageable by masteries and convictions, and these are what you have acquired, if you have acquired anything.

But what is the ultimate certainty? Is your certainty piecemeal and fragmentary? Have you learned only in disconnected segments? Education is a method of enlightenment concerning your relations to the material universe and to your fellow-men: has this brought you no confidence with regard to your relations to the God and Father of us all? Are you not more certain than ever that God is in his Heaven? Is your spirit awakened to all these other perceptions of life and reality without being vouchsafed a glimpse of the Father of Spirits? To know these other things that only implied Him is life, to know Him is life eternal,—eternal because perfect, stripped of its last doubt and uncertainty, given the very spirit of vision.

I have read in your hearing this morning the 103rd Psalm. Did it seem to you unreal and fanciful? Had it not, on the contrary, a reality which you would be at a loss to find anywhere else in the whole body of great songs men have conceived, unless perhaps in some other Psalm which speaks the same confident meaning with the same supreme conviction? When Paul stood upon Mars Hill facing that Athenian crowd gathered about him in skeptical curiosity, did he tell them anything that seems to you incredible, a tale of mere credulity and superstition? He did not hesitate to call the ignorance of the Athenians religion; was his religion not the religion of certitude, of knowledge? "I per-

ceive," he said, "that in all things you are very religious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore you ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you, God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with man's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us: for in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring."

We have an instinctive sympathy with and comprehension of Paul as he stands there. His voice of expostulation and interpretation seems our own. He is very natural, very inevitable. "We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen." And we see deeper than did the Athenians who once stood about Mars Hill and listened to the great apostle. We do not spend our time "in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing." In all our studies we have seen this to be a world of law, not dead but quick with forces of which the phenomena about us are not the reality but the mere temporary embodiment. At every turn it has been life that we have studied, whether the life of nature or the life of men; only in life have we been interested. We perceive now that it is not knowledge that we have been getting, but understanding, comprehension, insight, and that what we chiefly desire to understand are ourselves and our fellow-men. And so we have seen Scripture become mere plain philosophy, the words of Christ the words of a teacher

who has seen the ultimate realities and speaks them very simply, with the simplicity of utter authority.

It is plain enough to us that "man's life does not consist in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," but in his mastery of himself, of circumstance, of physical forces and of human relationships, of the spirit that is within him: that man "doth not live by bread alone," but by every word of truth, every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, the author of truth, however spoken. Our thought cannot stop short of these ultimate realities, is not content without them. Mysteries become plain facts, the things which are seen appear thin to our gaze like mere masks, and the things which are not seen become real.

Our experience here, as well as our formal study, becomes part of the explanation as our thought dwells upon it. The things we have been most conscious of are our comradeships, our companionships, the commerce we have had with one another, and we have become conscious, as we never were before, that life is a thing that links spirit with spirit, that it is itself personal, not abstract, and yet intangible, not material; a thing too of law, but not of law imposed, of law accepted, rather, not made up of what we must so much as of what we will. We are drawn into it by impulse and affection as well as by interest. It is a thing by which we live and move and have our conscious being. And so we are drawn on to Paul's conclusion. If life be thus personal, if it be of law, if the law of highest compulsion be the law of our own spirits, how shall we dispense with the knowledge of him who is the Father of Spirits; and yet how can we know Him whom we have not seen,—how can we know him except in the person of Christ, the express image of the Father, the Word that became flesh and "dwelt among us, full of grace and truth?"

I have heard this called an age of science, in which individual choice counts for less and less and law for

more than ever before. I have heard it said, by men who claimed to base their statements upon observation, that this is an age in which individual men of necessity fall into the background, an age of machinery, of combinations of individuals, of massed and aggregate power; and I marvel that the obvious facts should be so ignored. Perhaps not so many individuals are of significance as formerly, but the individuals who do tell more tremendously, wield a greater individual choice, command a power such as kings and conquerors never dreamed of in the simpler days gone by. Their sway is the sway of destiny over millions upon millions of their fellow-countrymen, over the policy and fortunes of nations. There never was a time when the spirit and character of individual men was of more imperial import and consequence than now. The whole scale of action is altered; but with the scale are magnified also the essential elements themselves.

And so the type and symbol is magnified,—Christ, the embodiment of great motive, of divine sympathy, of that perfect justice which sees into the hearts of men, and that sweet grace of love which takes the sting out of every judgment. “We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen”: we do not, we cannot, see Christ, but there he stands, the most indubitable fact of history, with a sway over the hearts and lives of men which has not been broken or interrupted these nineteen hundred years. No man can ever think of him as dead, unreal, a thing of books, a creature of theology. “The things which are seen are temporal,” but He, He is the embodiment of those things which, not seen, are eternal,—the eternal force and grace and majesty, not of character, but of that which lies back of character, obedience to the informing will of the Father of our spirits.

The force and beauty of Christ seem not to have been his own, as if original. He spoke always of his father, and of himself only as doing his father’s will

and speaking his father's words. There dwelt in him a spirit, great and universal, as that of the round world itself, compact of law and truth, a spirit greater than the world, conveying life and vision from the source from which all worlds and existence itself must have taken origin. He is our revelation. In him is our life explained and our knowledge made comprehensible. He is the perfect elder brother of our spirits. In him we are made known to ourselves,—in him because he is God, and God is the end of our philosophy; the revelation of the thought which, if we will but obey it, shall make us free, lifting us to the planes where duty shall seem happiness, obedience liberty, life the fulfillment of the law. Science is our intimation; literature is the imperfect voice of our fellow-men, seeking, like ourselves, an exit for their hopes; philosophy is what we would fain convince ourselves of but cannot see: in all of these the things which are unseen and real lurk, but elude us. In Christ, in the God whom he reveals, the veil is torn away. Look! Look there and have your fill of what you have sought most. You must ever seek in vain until you raise your eyes to the Christ where he is lifted up. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have eternal life,"—that life which subsisteth upon the things which are not seen.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS: The real question for every one of you to-day as you turn away from the University to take up the tasks which may lead to your final achievements, is What sort of life the University has bred in you. Universities deal with the spirits, not with the fortunes, of men. They are of an unserviceable sort when men may come and buy knowledge in them, purchase what store of information they may need for their business, as one would buy commodities in a mart, as if learning were merchandise; and you may fairly enough judge a

university by the love men have for it,—or the indifference. You would not love this place if you felt that it were a mere market. You have not dealt in learning here. You have not been formed by the facts you have gathered in the classroom and the laboratory. These things would stir no affection in you, and without affection or repulsion there is no life. If your minds have been awakened here, it has been by contact with other minds, with that vital stuff, the minds of your teachers or of your comrades,—best of all, of those of your teachers who have also been your comrades. Fire has kindled fire, life life. You have been quickened to see new things, to comprehend realities, or else this has been no university to you, but only a place of dull or playful sojourn where you made believe to do what you were not really doing. Men love only the places where they have been stirred, to which the deeper experiences of life have attached them.

What sort of life has the University bred in you that you should love her? Four years has seemed a long time to you, but a very short time to us who have sought to lead and teach you. Perhaps you think that to us you are only so many more in the indistinguishable mass of youngsters who pass before us in annual procession, the years through; but you are deeply mistaken. If that were true, you would have taken nothing from us. You have been the comrades of our thoughts, and we watch you with very wistful eyes as you turn away and leave us. To-day we part, not to forget and be strangers again, for with a common heritage are we bound in a perpetual partnership. We can be partners only in that which we have inherited, that precious stuff in which we have traded,—in the things of the spirit, in the things which are not seen but which are eternal. May God bless you and keep you, and confirm you in the vision of these things. This in you will be Princeton's immortality.

THE LAWYER AND THE COMMUNITY

ANNUAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AT CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, AUGUST 31, 1910. FROM MR. WILSON'S ORIGINAL TYPEWRITTEN MANUSCRIPT, CONTAINING HIS CHANGES IN PEN AND INK, IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

THE whole history of society has been the history of a struggle for law, for the definite establishment and continuance of such relationships as seemed to those who had the choice to be best suited to the support of their own influence and for the maintenance of the community over which they presided. Law is simply that part of the established thought and habit which has been accorded general acceptance and which is backed and sanctioned by the force and authority of the regularly constituted government of the body politic. The whole history of liberty, that history which so quickens our pulses as we look back upon it and which so sustains our confidence in the power of righteousness and of all the handsomer, nobler impulses of humanity, has been a struggle for the recognition of rights not only, but for the embodiment of rights in law, in courts and magistrates and assemblies. Such must always be the form of every high endeavour made in the interest of men and of the ideals of political life.

We do not fight to establish theses. We do not pour our blood out to vindicate a philosophy of politics. There are two great empires of human feeling, the realm of religion and the realm of political aspiration. In the one realm we work spiritually, our liberty is of the thought; in the other we work structurally, our liberty

abides in institutions, is real only when it is tangible, a thing that can be put into operation,—not in our own souls merely, but in the world of action outside of us as well. A right in the field of politics is a power to command the action of others in our own behoof; and that is also a right in law. Religions are mighty forces of belief, and the church, when it has its genuine and entire liberty, lies outside the state; but political liberty lives and moves and has its being in the structure and practice of society. The two fields are not, indeed, sharply separated: religious freedom must be safeguarded by institutional arrangements; but religious freedom is the right to be ungoverned, political freedom the right to be governed justly and with equity as between man and man. We fight for law as well as for faith because we fight not only for the right to think but also for the right to be and to do what we will within the limits of a just and equal order.

I remind you of these things at the beginning of my discourse because I wish to say a good deal about our present struggle for law. The old order changeth,—changeth under our very eyes, not quietly and equably, but swiftly and with the noise and heat and tumult of reconstruction. The forces of society contend openly with one another, avow their antagonisms, marshal and discipline their hosts, and are keen to win, not very willing to accommodate their differences and come to a common understanding which will be for the common advantage.

I suppose that all struggle for law has been conscious, that very little of it has been blind or merely instinctive. It is the fashion, too, to say, as if with a superior knowledge of affairs and of human weakness, that every age has been an age of transition and that no age is more full of change than another; but in very few ages of the world has the struggle for change been so widespread, so deliberate, or upon so great a scale as this which we are taking part in. The transition we are

witnessing is no equable transition of growth and normal alteration, no silent, unconscious unfolding of one age into another, its natural heir and successor. Society is looking itself over, in our day, from top to bottom, is making fresh and critical analysis of its very elements, is questioning its oldest practices as freely as its newest, scrutinizing every arrangement and motive of its life, and stands ready to attempt nothing less than a radical reconstruction, which only frank and honest counsels and the forces of generous coöperation can hold back from becoming a revolution. We are in a temper to reconstruct economic society as we were once in a temper to reconstruct political society, and political society may itself undergo a radical modification in the process. I doubt if any age was ever more conscious of its task or more unanimously desirous of radical and extended changes in its economic and political practice.

I do not speak of these things in apprehension, because all is open and above board. This is not a day in which great forces rally in secret. The whole stupendous programme is planned and canvassed in the open, and we have learned the rules of the game of change. Good temper, the wisdom that comes of sober counsel, the energy of thoughtful and unselfish men, the habit of coöperation and of compromise which has been bred in us by long years of free government, in which reason rather than passion has been made to prevail by the sheer virtue of candid and universal debate, will enable us to win through still another great age without revolution. I speak in plain terms of the real character of what is now patent to every man merely in order to fix your thought upon the fact that this thing that is going on about us is not a mere warfare of opinion. It has an object, a definite and concrete object, and that object is Law, the alteration of institutions upon an extended plan of change.

We are lawyers. This is the field of our knowledge. We are servants of society, officers of the courts of jus-

tice. Our duty is a much larger thing than the mere advice of private clients. In every deliberate struggle for law we ought to be the guides, not too critical and unwilling, not too tenacious of the familiar technicalities in which we have been schooled, not too much in love with precedents and the easy maxims which have saved us the trouble of thinking, but ready to give expert and disinterested advice to those who purpose progress and the readjustment of the frontiers of justice.

You cannot but have marked the recent changes in the relation of lawyers to affairs in this country; and, if you feel as I do about the great profession to which we belong, you cannot but have been made uneasy by the change. Lawyers constructed the fabric of our state governments and of the government of the United States, and throughout the earlier periods of our national development presided over all the larger processes of politics. Our political conscience as a nation was embedded in our written fundamental law. Every question of public policy seemed sooner or later to become a question of law, upon which trained lawyers must be consulted. In all our legislative halls debate thundered in the phrases of the written enactments under which our legislators and our governors exercised authority. Public life was a lawyer's forum. Laymen lent their invaluable counsel, but lawyers guided, and lawyers framed the law.

I am not speaking of the dependence of our political movement upon the judgments of courts. That has not been altered, and cannot be. So long as we have written constitutions courts must interpret them for us, and must be the final tribunals of interpretation. I am speaking of the prominence and ascendancy of lawyers in the practical political processes which precede the judgments of the courts. Until the civil war came and the more debatable portions of our fundamental law were cut away by the sword, the very platform of parties centred upon questions of legal interpretation

and lawyers were our guiding statesmen. I suppose a more intensely legal polity never existed.

So long as passion was excluded it was a tonic way of life. Statesmanship necessitated precise thinking. Every policy that was proposed had to be explicitly grounded upon precedent. At every step there was a reëxamination of the fundamental principles which were alleged to justify or sustain it. Thought of the long history of English constitutional practice and of the avowed purpose with which government had been set up in America constituted the atmosphere in which everything was done. Every ancient, every recent contest for liberty threw its light forward upon the debates of Congress and of state legislatures. The newest state shared with the oldest the long tradition, and all alike were thoughtful of what had been designed and hoped for by the men whose sacrifices had given life to our freedom. No doubt it stiffened the action of government. No doubt there was a formality and a scrupulous regard for the letter in the conduct of legislation better suited to a young country just finding itself and face to face only with large problems of simple and obvious character than to an older country, whose life has grown complex and confused and whose questions of exigency square with no plain precedents of constitutional practice. Lawyers will construct for you a very definite polity, and construct it to admiration; they have not often shown themselves equally fitted to liberalize it or facilitate the processes of change. But the leadership of lawyers at least meant a repeated reëxamination of principle and precedent, and was very instructive even when it was least enlightened. It prevented fluidity. A reason had to be given for every step taken,—a reason which would commend itself to the courts after it had commended itself to statesmen. The statesman and the lawyer were clients and consorts, and the legal conscience of the people was constantly refreshed and

strengthened. These are great influences. They make for character and for the solidity of institutions.

But they are gone. You have only to recall the many extraordinary interpretations of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution upon which serious debate has been wasted in Congress in recent years to be convinced of it. Our lawyers themselves are not carefully trained as they used to be in the principles of our constitutional law. It does not stand in the foreground of their study or practice, but in the background, very vague and general, a thing to be resorted to only upon rare occasion. Our legislatures now listen to debates upon constitutional questions with ill-concealed impatience, as tedious and academic. The nation has grown keen after certain practical objects and will not willingly brook the impediments set up by constitutions. The temper of the age is very nearly summed up in a feeling which you may put into words like these: "There are certain things we must do. Our life as a nation must be rectified in certain all-important particulars. If there be no law for the change, it must be found or made. We will not be argued into impotency by lawyers. We are not interested in the structure of our governments so much as in the exigencies of our life."

There are many reasons why this change of temper and of point of view has occurred. I will venture to mention one or two of the more obvious. It is not by chance that statesmanship has grown bigger than the bounds of mere legal precedent.

In the first place, the debates and constitutional struggles of the first seventy years of our political history settled most of the fundamental questions of our constitutional law. Solid lines of decided cases carry the definite outlines of the structure and make clear the methods of its action. We seemed after the civil war to be released from the demands of formal definition. The life of the nation running upon normal lines, has grown infinitely varied. It does not centre now upon

questions of governmental structure or of the distribution of governmental powers. It centres upon economic questions, questions of the very structure and operation of society itself, of which government is only the instrument. Our development has run so fast and so far along the lines sketched in the earlier day of constitutional definition, has so crossed and interlaced those lines, has piled upon them such novel structures of trust and combination, has elaborated within them a life so manifold, so full of forces which transcend the boundaries of the country itself and fill the eyes of the world, that a new nation seems to have been created which the old formulas do not fit or afford a vital interpretation of itself. The confusion has clearly come about without intention. We have been engaged in enterprises which the law as we formerly looked at it was clearly not meant to prevent or embarrass. We pushed them forward, therefore, without thinking of the effect they might have upon older conceptions of our legal processes. They seemed to spring out of the normal and necessary uses of the great continent whose riches we have been exploiting. We did not think of the legal consequences one way or the other, and therefore did not need or seek the advice of constitutional lawyers.

Constitutional lawyers have fallen into the background. We have relegated them to the Supreme Court, without asking ourselves where we are to find them when vacancies occur in that great tribunal. A new type of lawyers has been created; and that new type has come to be the prevailing type. Lawyers have been sucked into the maelstrom of the new business system of the country. That system is highly technical and highly specialized. It is divided into distinct sections and provinces, each with particular legal problems of its own. Lawyers, therefore, everywhere that business has thickened and had a large development, have become experts in some special technical field. They do not practise law. They do not handle the general, miscel-

laneous interests of society. They are not general counsellors of right and obligation. They do not bear the relation to the business of their neighbourhoods that the family doctor bears to the health of the community in which he lives. They do not concern themselves with the universal aspects of society. The family doctor is himself giving place to a score of specialists; and so is also what one might call the family solicitor. Lawyers are specialists, like all other men around them. The general, broad, universal field of law grows dim and yet more dim to their apprehension as they spend year after year in minute examination and analysis of a particular part of it; not a small part, it may be, perhaps the part which the courts are for the time most concerned with, but a part which has undergone a high degree of development, which is very technical and many-sided, and which requires the study and practice of years for its mastery; and yet a province apart, whose conquest necessarily absorbs them and necessarily separates them from the dwindling body of general practitioners who used to be our statesmen.

And so society has lost something, or is losing it,—something which it is very serious to lose in an age of law, when society depends more than ever before upon the lawgiver and the courts for its structural steel, the harmony and coördination of its parts, its convenience, its permanency, and its facility. In gaining new functions, in being drawn into modern business instead of standing outside of it, in becoming identified with particular interests instead of holding aloof and impartially advising all interests, the lawyer has lost his old function, is looked askance at in politics, must disavow special engagements if he would have his counsel heeded in matters of common concern. Society has suffered a corresponding loss,—at least American society has. It has lost its one-time feeling for law as the basis of its peace, its progress, its prosperity. Lawyers are not now regarded as the mediators of progress. Society

was always ready to be prejudiced against them; now it finds its prejudice confirmed.

Meanwhile, look what legal questions are to be settled, how stupendous they are, how far-reaching, and how impossible it will be to settle them without the advice of learned and experienced lawyers! The country must find lawyers of the right sort and of the old spirit to advise it, or it must stumble through a very chaos of blind experiment. It never needed lawyers who are also statesmen more than it needs them now,—needs them in its courts, in its legislatures, in its seats of executive authority,—lawyers who can think in the terms of society itself, mediate between interests, accommodate right to right, establish equity, and bring the peace that will come with genuine hearty coöperation, and will come in no other way.

The specialization of business and the extraordinary development of corporate organization and administration have led to consequences well worth the lawyer's consideration. Everyone else is considering them, and considering them with deep concern. We have witnessed in modern business the submergence of the individual within the organization, and yet the increase to an extraordinary degree of the power of the individual, of the individual who happens to control the organization. Most men are individuals no longer so far as their business, its activities or its moralities, is concerned. They are not units, but fractions; with their individuality and independence of choice in matters of business they have lost also their individual choice within the field of morals. They must do what they are told to do or lose their connection with modern affairs. They are not at liberty to ask whether what they are told to do is right or wrong. They cannot get at the men who ordered it,—have no access to them. They have no voice of counsel or of protest. They are mere cogs in a machine which has men for its parts. And yet there are men here and there with whom the whole choice lies. There are

men who control the machine as a whole and the men who compose it. There are men who use it with an imperial freedom of design, whose power and whose individuality overtop whole communities. There is more individual power than ever, but those who exercise it are few and formidable, and the mass of men are mere pawns in the game.

The present task of the law is nothing less than to rehabilitate the individual,—not to make the subordinate independent of the superior, not to turn corporations into debating societies, not to disintegrate what we have been at such pains to piece together in the organization of modern industrial enterprise, but to undo enough of what we have done in the development of our law of corporations to give the law direct access again to the individual,—to every individual in all his functions.

Corporations do not do wrong. Individuals do wrong, the individuals who direct and use them for selfish and illegitimate purposes, to the injury of society and the serious curtailment of private rights. Guilt, as has been very truly said, is always personal. You cannot punish corporations. Fines fall upon the wrong persons, more heavily upon the innocent than upon the guilty, as much upon those who knew nothing whatever of the transactions for which the fine is imposed as upon those who originated and carried them through,—upon the stockholders and the customers rather than upon the men who direct the policy of the business. If you dissolve the offending corporation, you throw great undertakings out of gear. You merely drive what you are seeking to check into other forms or temporarily disorganize some important business altogether, to the infinite loss of thousands of entirely innocent persons and to the great inconvenience of society as a whole. Law can never accomplish its objects in that way. It can never bring peace or command respect by such futilities.

I regard the corporation as indispensable to modern business enterprise. I am not jealous of its size or

might, if you will but abandon at the right points the fatuous, antiquated, and quite unnecessary fiction which treats it as a legal person; if you will but cease to deal with it by means of your law as if it were a single individual not only, but also,—what every child may perceive it is not,—a responsible individual. Such fictions and analogies were innocent and convenient enough so long as corporations were comparatively small and only one of many quite as important instrumentalities used in business, only a minor item in the economic order of society. But it is another matter now. They span society, and the responsibilities involved in their complex organization and action must be analyzed by the law as the responsibilities of society itself, in all its other aspects, have been.

The corporation now overshadows partnerships altogether. Still more does it overshadow all individuals engaged in business on their own capital and separate responsibility. It is an arrangement by which hundreds of thousands of men who would in days gone by have set up in business for themselves put their money into a single huge accumulation and place the entire direction of its employment in the hands of men they have never seen, with whom they never confer. These men, these quite autocratic managers, are thereby made, as it were, multiple individuals. In them are concentrated the resources, the choices, the opportunities, in brief the power, of thousands. They could never of themselves, of their own effort and sagacity, have accumulated the vast capital they employ, and employ as if it were their own; and yet they have not the full legal responsibilities of those who supplied them with it. Because they have the power of thousands they have not the responsibility common to those whose power they use! It is an extraordinary anomaly!

A modern corporation is an economic society, a little economic state,—and not always little, even as compared with states. Many modern corporations wield

revenues and command resources which no ancient state possessed, and which some modern bodies politic show no approach to in their budgets. The economic power of society itself is concentrated in them for the conduct of this, that, or the other sort of business. The functions of business are differentiated and divided amongst them, but the power for each function is massed. In some instances even the functions are not separated. Railroad companies have been known to buy coal mines. Manufacturing combinations have been observed to develop a score of subsidiary industries, to spread a network of organization over related enterprises, and sometimes even over enterprises whose relation to their main undertakings it is difficult for the lay mind to perceive. Society, in short, has discovered a new way of massing its resources and its power of enterprise, is building up bodies economic outside its bodies politic which may, if we do not find the means to prevent them, the means of disclosing the responsibilities of the men who compose them, dominate bodies politic themselves.

And these huge industrial organizations we continue to treat as legal persons, as individuals, which we must not think of as consisting of persons, within which we despair of enabling the law to pick out anybody in particular to put either its restraint or its command upon! It is childish, it is futile, it is ridiculous [copy illegible]. As well treat society itself as a unit; insist that it impose a fine upon itself for every wrong done, no matter how notorious it may be who did it; suggest that it embarrass all its processes of action and even break itself up into its constituent parts and begin all over again when the persons whom it has trusted prove depraved or selfish. It is not even interesting to continue such an experiment.

Society cannot afford to have individuals wield the power of thousands without personal responsibility. It cannot afford to let its strongest men be the only men who are inaccessible to the law. Modern democratic society, in particular, cannot afford to constitute its eco-

conomic undertakings upon the monarchical or aristocratic principle and adopt the fiction that the kings and great men thus set up can do no wrong which will make them personally amenable to the law which restrains smaller men: that their kingdoms, not themselves, must suffer for their blindness, their follies, and their transgressions of right.

It does not redeem the situation that these kings and chiefs of industry are not chosen upon the hereditary principle (sometimes, alas! they are) but are men who have risen by their own capacity, sometimes from utter obscurity, with the freedom of self-assertion which should characterize a free society. Their power is none the less arbitrary and irresponsible when obtained. That a peasant may become king does not render the kingdom democratic.

I would not have you think that I am speaking with a feeling of hostility towards the men who have in our day given the nation its extraordinary material power and prosperity by an exercise of genius such as in days gone by was used, in each great age, to build empires and alter the boundaries of states. I am drawing no indictment; no indictment that I could draw would be just. No indictment that has been drawn has been just, but only exaggerated and disquieting. The time for hostilities has gone by. The time for accommodations, for common understandings, for a surcease of economic warfare and the inauguration of the peace that will come only by common sacrifices and concessions, has come. I am simply trying to analyze the existing constitution of business in blunt words of truth, without animus or passion of any kind, and with a single, clear purpose.

That purpose is to recall you to the service of the nation as a whole, from which you have been drifting away; to remind you that, no matter what the exactions of modern legal business, no matter what or how great the necessity for specialization in your practice of the law, you are not the servants of special interests, the

mere expert counsellors of this, that, or the other group of business men; but guardians of the general peace, the guides of those who seek to realize by some best accommodation the rights of men. With that purpose in view, I am asking you to look again at the corporation.

It is an indispensable convenience; but is it a necessary burden? Modern business is no doubt best conducted upon a great scale, for which the resources of the single individual are manifestly insufficient. Money and men must be massed in order to do the things that must be done for the support and facilitation of modern life. Whether energy or economy be your standard, it is plain enough that we cannot go back to the old competitive system under which individuals were the competitors. Wide organization and coöperation have made the modern world possible and must maintain it. They have developed genius as well as wealth. The nations are richer in capacity and in gifts comparable to the higher gifts of statesmanship because of them and the opportunities they have afforded exceptional men. But we have done things in pursuit of them, and have nursed notions regarding them, which are no necessary part of what we seek. We can have corporations, can retain them in unimpaired efficiency, without depriving law of its ancient searching efficiency, its inexorable mandate that men, not societies, must suffer for wrongs done. The major promise of all law is moral responsibility, the moral responsibility of individuals for their acts and conspiracies; and no other foundation can any man lay upon which a stable fabric of equitable justice can be reared.

I call your attention to the fact, therefore, that it is perfectly possible to have corporations and serve all the necessities and conveniences of modern society by means of the great combinations of wealth and energy which we have found to be so excellent, and yet dispense with a large part of the quite outworn and now in many

respects deeply demoralizing fiction that a corporation is an indivisible person. Of course we must continue to regard it as an artificial person so far as is necessary to enable it to hold such property as may be proper for the execution of its charter purposes, to sue and be sued, and to conduct its business through officers who speak for it as a whole, and whose signatures and orders are, under its by-laws and resolutions, binding upon it. It must act and live as a person, and must be capable of enjoying, what individuals cannot enjoy, a certain perpetuity of power and authority, though individual men within it come and go, live, die, resign, or are translated. But there its unity should stop.

In respect of the responsibility which the law imposes in order to protect society itself, in order to protect men and communities against wrongs which are not breaches of contract but offences against the public interest, the common welfare, it is imperative that we should regard corporations as merely groups of individuals, from which it may, perhaps, be harder to pick out particular persons for punishment than it is to pick them out of the general body of unassociated men, but from which it is, nevertheless, possible to pick them out, —possible not only, but absolutely necessary if business is ever again to be moralized. Corporations must continue to be used as a convenience in the transaction of business, but they must cease to be used as a covert for wrong-doers.

The managers of corporations themselves always know the men who originated the acts charged against them as done in contravention of the law; is there no means by which their names may be disclosed to the officers of justice? Every act, every policy in the conduct of the affairs of a corporation originates with some particular officer, committee, or board. The officer, the committee, the board which orders an act or originates a policy contrary to the law of the land or intended to neutralize or contravene it is an insurgent

against society: the man or men who originate any such act or policy should be punished, and they alone. It is not necessary that the corporation should be broken up. It is not fair that the stockholders should be mulcted in damages. If there are damages to be paid they should be paid out of the private means of the persons who are really guilty. An analysis of the guilt is perfectly feasible. It is the duty of lawyers, of all lawyers, to assist the makers of law and the reformers of abuses by pointing out the best and most effective way to make it.

It seems to me absurd, for example (let me say by way of parenthesis), to extend the law of libel to corporations, to suffer one publishing corporation to sue another for defamation. Somebody in particular has uttered the libel, somebody in particular has been libeled. Character cannot be incorporated; writing cannot be corporately done. Are lawyers so incapable of ascertaining the facts that they cannot find out who it is that did the thing or who it is that has been injured in his reputation?

I know that the matter is not as simple as it sounds. I know that some corporations are in fact controlled from the outside, not from the inside: that it often happens that some man or some small group of men who are not even in its directorate dictate its policy, its individual acts, its attitude towards law and society, and that the men who act within it are little better than automata. But are they really beyond discovery? On the contrary, is it not generally a matter of common knowledge who they are? Would it take extraordinary acumen and intelligence to devise laws which would reach them also? What we are after, of course, is to obtain laws which will prevent the use of corporations to the public hurt and disadvantage. We know that the man who shoots his enemy was not in the gun, that he simply used it, and that no part of the mechanism of the gun itself is criminally liable. We can generally discover who used the gun and how he used it, what-

ever his cunning and secrecy. We can also find out who uses the corporations against the public interest; and we can punish him, or them, if we will, whether they belong to the actual nominal organization of the corporation or not. Our processes of evidence may have to be considerably altered, but we can alter them; our formal conception of parties in interest may have to be extended, but it is easy to extend them; our make-believe that we can see nobody in the transaction but those who are avowed and formal members of the organization may have to be discarded, but that ought to be a relief to our consciences. We have allowed ourselves to be ridiculously limited and embarrassed by the theory that a corporation is an indivisible person not only, but that nobody outside of it, no matter how intimate his use and control, may be brought into the suit by any genteel lawyer bred in the orthodox schools of law. A corporation is merely a convenient instrument of business and we may regulate its use as we please, and those who use it. Here is merely an artificial, a fictitious person, whom God did not make or endow, which we ourselves have made with our own hands and can alter as we will. I see no law of nature in our way, but only some laws of evidence and of corporate theory which we have outgrown.

You will say that in many instances it is not fair to pick out for punishment the particular officer who ordered a thing done, because he really had no freedom in the matter: that he is himself under orders, exercises no individual liberty of choice, is a dummy manipulated from without. I reply that society should permit no man to carry out orders which are against law and public policy, and that, if you will but put one or two conspicuous dummies in the penitentiary, there will be no more dummies for hire. You can stop the traffic in dummies, and then, when the idea has taken root in the corporate mind that dummies will be confiscated, pardon the one or two innocent men who may happen to have

got into jail. There will not be many, and the custom of the trade will change!

There are other corporate matters worthy of your attention, but they do not intimately concern my present theme. I think you must admit, for example, that the position of the minority stockholder is, in most of our States, extremely unsatisfactory. I do not wonder that he sometimes doubts whether corporate stocks are property at all or not. He does not seem to enjoy any of the substantial rights of property in connection with them. He is merely contributing money for the conduct of a business which other men run as they please. If he does not approve of what they do, there seems nothing for it but to sell the stock (though their acts may have depreciated its value immensely). He cannot even inquire or protest without being told to mind his own business,—the very thing he was innocently trying to do! There are many things which are not satisfactory about this putting the money of many men into one pile for the use of a board of directors, and to my mind it is clearly your task as counsellors of society to make them satisfactory. It is the duty of our profession to see to it that no man's powers exceed or lie outside of his legal and personal responsibilities,—that the corporation be made a mere convenience of business and not a means of irresponsible mastery: its interior and all men within it as accessible to the law as its exterior and the scattered individuals who have no corporate ambush from which to work their will.

I have used the corporation merely as an illustration. It stands in the foreground of all modern economic questions, so far as the United States are concerned. It is society's present means of effective life in the field of industry. Society must get complete control of its instrument or fail. But I have used it only as an illustration of a great theme, a theme greater than any single illustration could compass,—namely, the respon-

sibility of the lawyer to the community he professes to serve.

You are not a mere body of expert business advisers in the fields of civil law or a mere body of expert advocates for those who get entangled in the meshes of the criminal law. You are servants of the public, of the state itself. You are under bonds to serve the general interest, the integrity and enlightenment of law itself, in the advice you give individuals. It is your duty also to advise those who make the laws,—to advise them in the general interest, with a view to the amelioration of every undesirable condition that the law can reach, the removal of every obstacle to progress and fair dealing that the law can remove, the lightening of every burden the law can lift and the righting of every wrong the law can rectify. The services of the lawyer are indispensable not only in the application of the accepted processes of the law, the interpretation of existing rules in the daily operations of life and business. His services are indispensable also in keeping, and in making, the law clear with regard to responsibility, to organization, to liability, and, above all, to the relation of private rights to the public interest.

The structure of modern society is a structure of law rather than of custom. The lawyer's advice is more than ever necessary to the state, therefore. Communities as well as individuals stand in constant need of his guidance. This used to be commonplace doctrine amongst us; why does it now need to be preached again? Is it mere accident that the relation of the legal profession to affairs has changed? It is merely because the greater constitutional questions seemed for a time to be settled and legal debates gave place to industrial enterprise, a great age of material following a great age of political development? Has it been merely a change of circumstances, or has it been a change of attitude and spirit as well on the part of the profession itself? Has not the lawyer allowed himself to become part of

the industrial development, has he not been sucked into the channels of business, has he not changed his connections and become part of the mercantile structure rather than part of the general social structure of our commonwealths as he used to be? Has he not turned away from his former interests and duties and become narrowed to a technical function?

Whatever may be the cause, it is evident that he now regards himself as the counsel of individuals exclusively, and not of communities. He may plead this new organization of politics, which seems to exclude all counsel except that of party success and personal control; he may argue that public questions have changed, have drifted away from his field, and that his advice is no longer asked; but, whatever his explanation or excuse, the fact is the same. He does not play the part he used to play; he does not show the spirit in affairs he used to show. He does not do what he ought to do.

For there never was a time, in fact, when his advice, his disinterested and earnest advice, was more needed than it is now in the exigent processes of reform, in the busy processes of legislation through which we are passing, with so singular a mixture of hope and apprehension. I hear a great many lawyers join the cry of the business men, that it is time legislators left business alone, allowed it to recover from the confusion and distraction of regulative statutes, altered tariffs, and supervising commissions, find its natural methods again, and go forward upon a way of prosperity which will not be beset by fear and uncertainty. But the cry is futile, the impatience which gives rise to it is selfish and ignorant. Nothing is settled or can be let alone when it is known to be wrong until it is set right. We have settled nothing in our recent reform legislation. That is the reason it is so unsatisfactory, and why some prudent and thoughtful men grow tired of it. But that is only another reason for seeking out and finding what will be the happy and successful way of setting our

economic interests in order. There has been no satisfactory settlement, but there must be one. Public opinion is wider awake about these matters than it has been within the memory of any man living, and it is not going to turn away from them until satisfactory reforms of the law are found. There will be no peace until a happy and honourable basis of peace has been hit upon. Lawyers may come into the settlement or stay out of it, as they please, but a settlement there must be. For one, I hope that they will not stay out. I fear that it would be disastrous for them to do so,—disastrous to them and to society. I covet for them their old and honourable leadership in public counsel.

Just because they have so buried themselves in modern business, just because they have been so intimate a part of it, they know better than any one else knows what legal adjustments have and have not been made,—know the practices that circumvent the law, even the existing law, and the provisions of statute and court procedure that might put a stop to them or square them with what the interests of the whole community demand, theirs is the special responsibility to advise remedies. Theirs has been the part of intimate counsel in all that has been going on. The country holds them largely responsible for it. It distrusts every "corporation lawyer." It supposes him in league with persons whom it has learned to dread, to whom it ascribes a degree of selfishness which in effect makes them public enemies, whatever their motives or their private character may be. And the lawyer,—what does he do? He stands stoutly on the defensive. He advises his client how he may make shift, no matter how the law runs. He declares that business would go very well and every man get his due if only legislators would keep their hands off! He keeps his expert advice for private persons and criticises those who struggle without his countenance or assistance along the difficult road of reform. It is not a promising situation.

Our reforms must be legal reforms. It is a pity they should go forward without the aid of those who have studied the law in its habit as it lives, those who know what is practicable and what is not, those who know, or should know, if anybody does, the history of liberty.

The history of liberty is a history of law. Men are not free when they have merely conceived what their rights should be. They are not set free by philosophies of right. Their theories of the rights of man may even lead them astray, may make them break their hearts in pursuit of hopes they can never realize, objects they can never grasp, ideals that will forever elude them. Nothing is more practical than the actual body of liberty. It consists of definitions based upon experience, or, rather, of practices that are the very essence of experience. A right is worth fighting for only when it can be put into operation. It can be put into operation only when its scope and limitation can be accurately defined in terms of legal procedure; and even then it may amount to nothing if the legal procedure be difficult, costly, or complicated. Liberty of speech is defined in the law of slander and of libel, and becomes mere license against which there is no protection if the law of slander or of libel be difficult or costly or uncertain to apply. Liberty of the person is defined only when the law has carefully enumerated the circumstances in which it may be violated, the circumstances in which arrests and imprisonments and army drafts, and all the other limitations upon which society may insist for its protection or convenience, will be lawful. Its reality, its solidity consists in the definiteness of the exceptions, in the practicality of the actual arrangements.

And it is part of its definiteness and reality that liberty is always personal, never aggregate; always a thing inhering in individuals taken singly, never in groups or corporations or communities. The indivisible unit of society is the individual. He is also the indigestible unit. He cannot be merged or put into combination

without being lost to liberty, because lost to independence. Make of him a fraction instead of an integer, and you have broken his spirit, cut off the sources of his life. That is why I plead so earnestly for the individualization of responsibility within the corporation, for the establishment of the principle by law that a man has no more right to do a wrong as a member of a corporation than as an individual. Establish that principle, cut away the undergrowth of law that has sprung up so rankly about the corporation and made of it an ambush and covert, and it will give every man the right to say No again, to refuse to do wrong, no matter who orders him to do it. It will make a man of him. It is in his interest no less than in the interest of society, which must see to it that wrong-doing is put a stop to.

We are upon the eve, gentlemen, of a great reconstruction. It calls for creative statesmanship as no age has done since that great age in which we set up the government under which we live, that government which was the admiration of the world until it suffered wrongs to grow up under it which have made many of our own compatriots question the freedom of our institutions and preach revolution against them. I do not fear revolution. I do not fear it even if it comes. I have unshaken faith in the power of America to keep its self-possession. If revolution comes, it will come in peaceful guise, as it came when we put aside the crude government of the Confederation and created the great federal state, which governed individuals, not corporations, and which has been these hundred and thirty years our vehicle of progress. And it need not come. I do not believe for a moment that it will come. Some radical changes we must make in our law and practice. Some reconstructions we must push forward which a new age and new circumstances impose upon us. But we can do it all in calm and sober fashion, like statesmen and patriots. Let us do it also like lawyers. Let us lend a hand to make the structure symmetricàl, well propor-

tioned, solid, perfect. Let no future generation have cause to accuse us of having stood aloof, indifferent, half hostile, or of having impeded the realization of right. Let us make sure that liberty shall never repudiate us as its friends and guides. We are the servants of society, the bond-servants of justice.

LETTER OF RESIGNATION FROM PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

READ AT MEETING OF BOARD OF TRUSTEES ON OCTOBER
20, 1910. FROM "PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY,"
OCTOBER 26, 1910, VOL. II, NO. 5, P. 68.

GENTLEMEN of the Board of Trustees:
On the fifteenth of September last the Democratic party of New Jersey nominated me for the office of Governor of the State, and I deemed it my duty to accept the nomination. In view of Princeton's immemorial observance of the obligation of public service, I could not have done otherwise.

Having accepted that nomination, it becomes my duty to resign the presidency of the University I have so long loved and sought to serve. I, therefore, hereby offer my resignation of this great office with which you have honoured me, and venture to express the hope that the Board will see its way to act upon the resignation at once. It is my earnest prayer that the University may go forward without halt or hindrance in the path of true scholarship and thoughtful service of the nation.

WOODROW WILSON.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AS GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

DELIVERED JANUARY 17, 1911. FROM THE "JOURNAL"
OF THE SENATE OF NEW JERSEY FOR 1911, PP. 58-68.

GENTLEMEN of the Legislature: I assume the great office of Governor of the State with unaffected diffidence. Many great men have made this office illustrious. A long tradition of honourable public service connects each incumbent of it with the generation of men who set up our governments here in free America, to give men perpetual assurance of liberty and justice and opportunity. No one dare be sure that he is qualified to play the part expected of him by the people of the commonwealth in the execution of this high trust. It is best for him, as he sets out, to look away from himself and to concentrate his thought upon the people whom he serves, the sacred interests which are entrusted to his care, and the day in which he is to work, its challenge, its promise, its energies of opinion and of purpose, its sustaining hopes and exciting expectations. The scene will inspire him, not thought of himself.

The opportunity of our day in the field of politics no man can mistake who can read any, even the most superficial, signs of the times. We have never seen a day when duty was more plain, the task to be performed more obvious, the way in which to accomplish it more easy to determine. The air has in recent months cleared amazingly about us, and thousands, hundreds of thousands, have lifted their eyes to look about them, to see things they never saw before, to comprehend things that once seemed vague and elusive. The whole world has changed within the lifetime of men not yet in their

thirties; the world of business, and therefore the world of society and the world of politics. The organization and movement of business are new and upon a novel scale. Business has changed so rapidly that for a long time we were confused, alarmed, bewildered, in a sort of terror of the things we had ourselves raised up. We talked about them either in sensational articles in the magazines which distorted every line of the picture, or in conservative editorials in our newspapers, which stoutly denied that anything at all had happened, or in grave discourses which tried to treat them as perfectly normal phenomena, or in legislative debates which sought to govern them with statutes which matched them neither in size nor in shape.

But, if only by sheer dint of talking about them, either to frighten or to reassure one another, or to make ourselves out wiser or more knowing than our fellows, we have at last turned them about and looked at them from almost every angle and begin to see them whole, as they are. Corporations are no longer hobgoblins which have sprung at us out of some mysterious ambush, nor yet unholy inventions of rascally rich men, nor yet the puzzling devices by which ingenious lawyers build up huge rights out of a multitude of small wrongs; but merely organizations of a perfectly intelligible sort which the law has licensed for the convenience of extensive business; organizations which have proved very useful but which have for the time being slipped out of the control of the very law that gave them leave to be and that can make or unmake them at pleasure. We have now to set ourselves to control them, soberly but effectively, and to bring them thoroughly within the regulation of the law.

There is a great opportunity here; for wise regulation, wise adjustment, will mean the removal of half the difficulties that now beset us in our search for justice and equality and fair chances of fortune for the individuals who make up our modern society. And there

is a great obligation as well as a great opportunity, an imperative obligation, from which we cannot escape if we would. Public opinion is at last wide awake. It begins to understand the problems to be dealt with; it begins to see very clearly indeed the objects to be sought. It knows what has been going on. It sees where resistance has come from whenever efforts at reform have been made, and knows also the means of resistance that have been resorted to. It is watchful, insistent, suspicious. No man who wishes to enjoy the public confidence dare hold back, and, if he is wise, he will not resort to subterfuge. A duty is exacted of him which he must perform simply, directly, immediately. The gate of opportunity stands wide open. If we are foolish enough to be unwilling to pass through it, the whip of opinion will drive us through.

No wise man will say, of course, that he sees the whole problem of reform lying plain before him, or knows how to frame the entire body of law that will be necessary to square business with the general interest, and put right and fairness and public spirit in the saddle again in all the transactions of our new society; but some things are plain enough, and upon these we can act.

In the first place, it is plain that our laws with regard to the relations of employer and employe are in many respects wholly antiquated and impossible. They were framed for another age, which nobody now living remembers, which is, indeed, so remote from our life that it would be difficult for many of us to understand it if it were described to us. The employer is now generally a corporation or huge company of some kind; the employe is one of hundreds or of thousands brought together, not by individual masters whom they know and with whom they have personal relations, but by agents of one sort or another. Workingmen are marshalled in great numbers for the performance of a multitude of particular tasks under a common discipline. They

generally use dangerous and powerful machinery, over whose repair and renewal they have no control. New rules must be devised with regard to their obligations and their rights, their obligations to their employers and their responsibilities to one another. New rules must be devised for their protection, for their compensation when injured, for their support when disabled.

We call these questions of employers' liability, questions of workingmen's compensation, but those terms do not suggest quite the whole matter. There is something very new and very big and very complex about these new relations of capital and labour. A new economic society has sprung up, and we must effect a new set of adjustments. We must not pit power against weakness. The employer is generally in our day, as I have said, not an individual, but a powerful group of individuals, and yet the workingman is still, under our existing law, an individual when dealing with his employer, in case of accident, for example, or of loss or of illness, as well as in every contractual relationship. We must have a workingman's compensation act which will not put upon him the burden of fighting powerful composite employers to obtain his rights, but which will give him his rights without suit, directly, and without contest, by automatic operation of law, as if of a law of insurance.

This is the first adjustment needed, because it affects the rights, the happiness, the lives and fortunes of the largest number, and because it is the adjustment for which justice cries loudest and with the most direct appeal to our hearts as well as to our consciences.

But there is regulation needed which lies back of that and is much more fundamental. The composite employer himself needs to have his character and powers overhauled, his constitution and rights reconsidered, readjusted to the fundamental and abiding interests of society. If I may speak very plainly, we are much too free with grants of charters to corporations in New

Jersey: A corporation exists, not of natural right, but only by license of law, and the law, if we look at the matter in good conscience, is responsible for what it creates. It can never rightly authorize any kind of fraud or imposition. It cannot righteously allow the setting up of a business which has no sound basis, or which follows methods which in any way outrage justice or fair dealing or the principles of honest industry. The law cannot give its license to things of that kind. It thereby authenticates what it ought of right to forbid.

I would urge, therefore, the imperative obligation of public policy and of public honesty we are under to effect such changes in the law of the State as will henceforth effectually prevent the abuse of the privilege of incorporation which has in recent years brought so much discredit upon our State. In order to do this it will be necessary to regulate and restrict the issue of securities, to enforce regulations with regard to bona fide capital, examining very rigorously the basis of capitalization, and to prescribe methods by which the public shall be safeguarded against fraud, deception, extortion, and every abuse of its confidence.

And such scrutiny and regulation ought not to be confined to corporations seeking charters. They ought also to be extended to corporations already operating under the license and authority of the State. For the right to undertake such regulation is susceptible of easy and obvious justification. A modern corporation—that is, a modern joint stock company—is in no proper sense an intimate or private concern. It is not set up on the risk and adventure of a few persons, the persons who originated it, manage it, carry it to failure or success. On the contrary, it is set up at what may be called the common risk. It is a risk and adventure in which the public are invited to share, and the hundreds, perhaps thousands, who subscribe to the stock do in fact share in it, oftentimes without sharing also, in any effectual

manner, in the control and development of the business in which their risk is taken. Moreover, these modern enterprises, with their exchequers replenished out of the common store of the savings of the nation, conduct business transactions whose scope and influence are as wide as whole regions of the Union, often as wide as the nation itself. They affect sometimes the lives and fortunes of whole communities, dominate prices, determine land values, make and unmake markets, develop or check the growth of city and of countryside. If law is at liberty to adjust the general conditions of society itself, it is at liberty to control these great instrumentalities which nowadays, in so large part, determine the character of society. Wherever we can find what the common interest is in respect of them we shall find a solid enough basis for law, for reform.

The matter is most obvious when we turn to what we have come to designate public service, or public utility, corporations—those which supply us with the means of transportation and with those common necessities, water, light, heat, and power. Here are corporations exercising peculiar and extraordinary franchises, and bearing such a relation to society in respect of the services they render that it may be said that they are the very medium of its life. They render a public and common service of which it is necessary that practically everybody should avail himself.

We have a Public Utilities Commission in New Jersey, but it has hardly more than powers of inquiry and advice. It could even as it stands be made a powerful instrument of publicity and of opinion, but it may also modestly wait until it is asked before expressing a judgment, and in any case it will have the uncomfortable consciousness that its opinion is gratuitous, and carries no weight of effective authority. This will not do. It is understood by everybody who knows anything of the common interest that it must have complete regulative powers: the power to regulate rates, the power to learn

and make public everything that should furnish a basis for the public judgment with regard to the soundness, the efficiency, the economy of the business—the power, in brief, to adjust such service at every point and in every respect, whether of equipment or charges or methods of financing or means of service, to the general interest of the communities affected. This can be done, as experience elsewhere has demonstrated, not only without destroying the profits of such business, but also with the effect of putting it upon a more satisfactory footing for those who conduct it no less than for those who make use of it day by day.

Such regulation, based on thorough and authoritative inquiry, will go far towards disclosing and establishing those debatable values upon which so many questions of taxation turn. There is an uneasy feeling throughout the State, in which, I dare say, we all share, that there are glaring inequalities in our system—or, at any rate, in our practice—of taxation. The most general complaint is, that there is great inequality as between individuals and corporations. I do not see how anyone can determine whether there are or not, for we have absolutely no uniform system of assessment. It would seem that in every locality there is some local variety of practice, in the rate, the ratio of assessment value to market value, and that every assessor is a law unto himself. Our whole system of taxation, which is no system at all, needs overhauling from top to bottom. There can be no system, no safety, no regulation in a multitude of boards. An efficient Public Utilities Commission will be a beginning towards a system of taxation as well as towards a system of corporate control. We cannot fairly tax values until we have ascertained and established them.

And the great matter of conservation seems to me like a part of the same subject. The safeguarding of our water supply, the purification of our streams in order to maintain them as sources of life, and their

protection against those who would divert them or diminish their volume for private profit, the maintenance of such woodlands as are left us and the reforestation of bare tracts more suited for forest than for field, the sanitation of great urban districts such as cover the northern portions of our State, by thorough systems of drainage and of refuse disposal, the protection of the public health and the facilitation of urban and suburban life—these are all public obligations which fall sooner or later upon you as the lawmakers of the commonwealth, and they are all parts of the one great task of adjustment which has fallen to our generation. Our business is to adjust right to right, interest to interest, and to systematize right and convenience, individual rights and corporate privileges, upon the single basis of the general good, the good of whole communities, the good which no one will look after or suffice to secure if the legislator does not, the common good for whose safeguarding and maintenance government is intended.

This readjustment has not been going on very fast or very favorably in New Jersey. It has been observed that it limped, or was prevented, or neglected, in other States as well. Everywhere there has been confusion of counsel and many a sad miscarriage of plan. There have, consequently, been some very radical criticisms of our methods of political action. There is widespread dissatisfaction with what our legislatures do, and still more serious dissatisfaction with what they do not do. Some persons have said that representative government has proved too indirect and clumsy an instrument, and has broken down as a means of popular control. Others, looking a little deeper, have said that it was not representative government that had broken down, but the effort to get it. They have pointed out that with our present methods of machine nomination and our present methods of elections, which were nothing more than a choice between one set of machine nominees and another, we did not get representative government at all

—at least not government representative of the people, but government representative of political managers who served their own interests and the interests of those with whom they found it profitable to establish partnerships.

Obviously this is something that goes to the root of the whole matter. Back of all reform lies the method of getting it. Back of the question what you want lies the question, the fundamental question of all government, how are you going to get it? How are you going to get public servants who will obtain it for you? How are you going to get genuine representatives who will serve your real interests, and not their own or the interests of some special group or body of your fellow-citizens whose power is of the few and not of the many? These are the queries which have drawn the attention of the whole country to the subject of the direct primary, the direct choice of representatives by the people, without the intervention of the nominating machine, the nominating organization.

I earnestly commend to your careful consideration in this connection the laws in recent years adopted in the State of Oregon, whose effect has been to bring government back to the people and to protect it from the control of the representatives of selfish and special interests. They seem to me to point the direction which we must also take before we have completed our regeneration of a government which has suffered so seriously and so long as ours has here in New Jersey from private management and organized selfishness. Our primary laws, extended and perfected, will pave the way. They should be extended to every elective office, and to the selection of every party committee or official as well, in order that the people may once for all take charge of their own affairs, their own political organization and association; and the methods of primary selection should be so perfected that the primaries will be put upon the

same free footing that the methods of election themselves are meant to rest upon.

We have here the undoubtedly sound chain and sequence of reforms: an actual direct choice by the people of the men who are to organize alike their parties and their government, and those measures which true representatives of the people will certainly favour and adopt—systematic compensation for injured workingmen; the careful regulation in the common interest of all corporations, both in respect of their organization and of their methods of business, and especially of public service corporations; the equalization of taxes; and the conservation of the natural resources of the State and of the health and safety of its people.

Another matter of the most vital consequence goes with all these: namely, systematic ballot reform and thorough and stringent provisions of law against corrupt practices in connection alike with primaries and with elections. We have lagged behind our sister States in these important matters, and should make haste to avail ourselves of their example and their experience. Here, again, Oregon may be our guide.

This is a big programme, but it is a perfectly consistent programme, and a perfectly feasible programme, and one upon whose details it ought to be possible to agree even within the limits of a single legislative session. You may count upon my coöperation at every step of the work.

I have not spoken of the broad question of economy in the administration of the State government, an economy which can probably be effected only through a thorough reorganization upon business principles, the familiar business principles so thoroughly understood and so intelligently practised by Americans, but so seldom applied to their governments. We make offices for party purposes too often, instead of conducting our public business by the organization best adapted to efficiency and economy. I have not dwelt upon the subject

in this address because it is a very complicated one, hardly suited for brief exposition, and because so obvious a requirement of honest government needs hardly more than to be mentioned to be universally endorsed by the public. I shall try to point out to you from time to time the means by which reorganization and economy may be secured with benefit to the public service.

But there is a subject which lies a little off the beaten track to which I do wish to turn for a moment before I close. The whole country has remarked the extraordinary rise in the prices of foodstuffs in recent years, and the fact that prices are successfully maintained at an intolerably high level at all seasons, whether they be the seasons of plenty or of scarcity. We have a partial remedy at our own hand—a remedy which was proposed to the Legislature last year by Mr. James, of Hudson county, but which is said to have been defeated in some questionable fashion in the last hours of the session. It is estimated that most of the food supply of the people of northern New Jersey, and half the food supply for New York City, is kept in cold-storage warehouses in Hudson county, awaiting the desired state of the market. There is abundant reason to believe that it is the practice of dealers to seclude immense quantities of beef and other meats, poultry, eggs, fish, etc., in cold-storage in times of abundance in order that the price of these indispensable foods may be kept high and the foods dealt out only when the market is satisfactory for that purpose, even if the meats and eggs have to be kept for years together before being sold. Figures, said to be actually of record, foot up almost incredible totals of the amounts thus held in waiting, running into millions of heads of cattle, of sheep and lambs, of hogs, millions of pounds of poultry, and hundreds of millions of eggs.

The result is not only to control prices but also to endanger health, because of the effect of too long storage upon the foodstuffs themselves, and because of the

deleterious effects of taking them out of cold-storage and exposing them to thaw in the markets. The least effect is loss of nutritious quality; the worst, the generation of actual poisons by decay and even putrefaction.

No limit at all is put upon this abuse by law, and strong influences are brought to bear by interested parties to prevent the enactment of remedial legislation. Indictments were brought in Hudson county, but there was no sufficient law to sustain them. A bill was introduced, as I have said, at the last session of the Legislature, but was, I am told, after lingering a very long time in the Assembly committee, mysteriously lost when called up for passage in the Senate during the last hours of the session. I earnestly urge that the Legislature take up this important matter at the earliest possible time, and push some effective law of inspection and limitation to enactment. It would give me great pleasure to sign a bill that would really accomplish the purpose.

We are servants of the people, of the whole people. Their interest should be our constant study. We should pursue it without fear or favour. Our reward will be greater than that to be obtained in any other service: the satisfaction of furthering large ends, large purposes, of being an intimate part of that slow but constant and ever hopeful force of liberty and of enlightenment that is lifting mankind from age to age to new levels of progress and achievement, and of having been something greater than successful men. For we shall have been instruments of humanity, men whose thought was not for themselves, but for the true and lasting comfort and happiness of men everywhere. It is not the foolish ardour of too sanguine or too radical reform that I urge upon you, but merely the tasks that are evident and pressing, the things we have knowledge and guidance enough to do; and to do with confidence and energy. I merely point out the present business of progressive and serviceable government, the next stage

on the journey of duty. The path is as inviting as it is plain. Shall we hesitate to tread it? I look forward with genuine pleasure to the prospect of being your comrade upon it.

ISSUES OF FREEDOM.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT BANQUET OF THE KNIFE AND
FORK CLUB OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, MAY 5,
1911. FROM PAMPHLET.

THERE can be no mistaking the fact that we are now face to face with political changes which may have a very profound effect upon our political life. Those who do not understand the impending change are afraid of it. Those who do understand it know that it is not a process of revolution, but a process of restoration, rather, in which there is as much healing as hurt. There are strain and peril, no doubt, in every process of change, but the chief peril comes from undertaking it in the wrong temper. It lies not in the change itself so much as in the method of some of those who promote it. It is a noteworthy circumstance that in proportion as the people of the country come to recognize what it is that renders them uneasy and what it is that is proposed by way of reformation they lose their fear and take on a certain irresistible enthusiasm.

The American people are naturally a conservative people. They do not wish to touch the stable foundations of their life; they have a reverence for the rights of property and the rights of contract which is based upon a long experience in a free life, in which they have been at liberty to acquire property as they pleased and bind themselves by such contracts as suited them. No other people have ever had such freedom in the establishment of personal relationships or property rights. They do not mean to lose this freedom or to impair any rights at all, but they do feel that a great many things in their economic life and in their political action

are out of gear. They have been cheated by their own political machinery. They have been dominated by the very instrumentalities which they themselves created in the field of industrial action. The liberty of the individual is hampered and impaired. They desire, therefore, not a revolution, not a cutting loose from any part of their past, but a readjustment of the elements of their life, a reconsideration of what it is just to do and equitable to arrange in order that they may be indeed free, may indeed make their own choices and live their own life undominated, unafraid, unsuspicious, confident that they will be served by their public men and that the open processes of their government will bring to them justice and timely reform.

What we are witnessing now is not so much a conflict of parties as a contest of ideals, a struggle between those who, because they do not understand what is happening, blindly hold on to what is and those who, because they do see the real questions of the present and of the future in a clear, revealing light, know that there must be sober change; know that progress, none the less active and determined because it is sober and just, is necessary for the maintenance of our institutions and the rectification of our life. In both the great national parties there are men who feel this ardour of progress and of reform, and in both parties there are men who hold back, who struggle to restrain change, who do not understand it or who have reason to fear it. Undoubtedly the present moment offers a greater and larger opportunity to the Democratic party than to the Republican party; but this is not because there are not men in the Republican party who have devoted their whole intelligence and energy to necessary reform, but because the Democratic party as a whole is freer to move and to act than the Republican is and is held back by a smaller and weaker body of representatives of the things that are and have been.

We generally sum up what we mean by the reaction-

ary forces by speaking of them as embodied in the Interests. By that we do not mean the legitimate but the illegitimate interests, those which have not adjusted themselves to the public interests, those which are clinging to their vested rights as a bulwark against the adjustment which is absolutely necessary if they are to be servants and not masters of the public. The chief political fact of the day is that the Republican party is more closely allied with these Interests than the Democratic party. This circumstance constitutes the opportunity of the Democrats. They are free to act and to move in the right direction if they will but accept the responsibility and the leadership. The Democratic party is more in sympathy with the new tendencies than the Republican. Its free forces are the forces of progress and of popular reform.

Both parties are of necessity breaking away from the past, whether they will or no, because our life has broken away from the past. The life of America is not the life it was twenty years ago. It is not the life it was ten years ago. We have changed our economic conditions from top to bottom, and with our economic conditions has changed also the organization of our life. The old party formulas do not fit the present problems. The old cries of the stump sound as if they belonged to a past age which men have almost forgotten. The things which used to be put into the party platforms of ten years ago would sound antiquated now. You will note, moreover, that the political audiences which nowadays gather together are not partisan audiences. They are made up of all elements and come together, not to hear parties denounced or praised, but to hear the interests of the nation discussed in new terms—the terms of the present moment.

We have so complicated our machinery of government, we have made it so difficult, so full of ambushes and hiding places, so indirect, that instead of having true representative government we have a great inextricable

jungle of organization intervening between the people and the processes of their government; so that by stages, without intending it, without being aware of it, we have lost the purity and directness of representative government. What we must devote ourselves to now is, not to upsetting our institutions, but to restoring them.

Undoubtedly we should avoid excitement and should silence the demagogue. The man with power, but without conscience, could, with an eloquent tongue, if he cared for nothing but his own power, put this whole country into a flame, because the whole country believes that something is wrong and is eager to follow those who profess to be able to lead it away from its difficulties. But it is all the more necessary that we should be careful who are our guides. The processes we are engaged in are fundamentally conservative processes. If your tree is diseased it is no revolution to restore to it the purity of its sap, to renew the soil that sustains it, to reestablish the conditions of its health. That is a process of life, of renewal, of redemption.

There is no ground for alarm, therefore. We are bent upon a perfectly definite programme, which is one of health and renewal.

Let us ask ourselves very frankly what it is that needs to be corrected. To sum it all up in one sentence, it is the control of politics and of our life by great combinations of wealth. Men sometimes talk as if it were wealth we were afraid of, as if we were jealous of the accumulation of great fortunes. Nothing of the kind is true. America has not the slightest jealousy of the legitimate accumulation of wealth. Everybody knows that there are hundreds and thousands of men of large means and large economic power who have come by it all perfectly legitimately not only, but in a way that deserves the thanks and admiration of the communities they have served and developed. But everybody knows also that some of the men who control the wealth and have built up the industry of the country seek to control

politics and also to dominate the life of common men in a way in which no man should be permitted to dominate.

In the first place, there is the notorious operation of the bipartisan political machine: I mean the machine which does not represent party principle of any kind, but which is willing to enter into any combination, with whatever group of persons or of politicians, to control the offices of localities and of States and of the nation itself in order to maintain the power of those who direct it. This machine is supplied with its funds by the men who use it in order to protect themselves against legislation which they do not desire and in order to obtain the legislation which is necessary for the prosecution of their purposes.

The methods of our legislatures make the operations of such machines easy and convenient, for very little of our legislation is formed and effected by open debate upon the floor. Almost all of it is framed in lawyers' offices, discussed in committee rooms, passed without debate. Bills that the machine and its backers do not desire are smothered in committee; measures which they do desire are brought out and hurried through their passage. It happens again and again that great groups of such bills are rushed through in the hurried hours that mark the close of the legislative sessions, when every one is withheld from vigilance by fatigue and when it is possible to do secret things.

When we stand in the presence of these things and see how complete and sinister their operation has been we cry out with no little truth that we no longer have representative government.

Among the remedies proposed in recent years have been the initiative and referendum in the field of legislation and the recall in the field of administration. These measures are supposed to be characteristic of the most radical programmes, and they are supposed to be meant to change the very character of our government. They have no such purpose. Their intention is to restore,

not to destroy, representative government. It must be remembered by every candid man who discusses these matters that we are contrasting the operation of the initiative and the referendum, not with the representative government which we possess in theory and which we have long persuaded ourselves that we possessed in fact, but with the actual state of affairs, with legislative processes which are carried on in secret, responding to the impulse of subsidized machines and carried through by men whose unhappiness it is to realize that they are not their own masters, but puppets in a game.

If we felt that we had genuine representative government in our State legislatures no one would propose the initiative or referendum in America. They are being proposed now as a means of bringing our representatives back to the consciousness that what they are bound in duty and in mere policy to do is to represent the sovereign people whom they profess to serve and not the private interests which creep into their counsels by way of machine orders and committee conferences. The most ardent and successful advocates of the initiative and referendum regard them as a sobering means of obtaining genuine representative action on the part of legislative bodies. They do not mean to set anything aside. They mean to restore and reinvigorate, rather.

The recall is a means of administrative control. If properly regulated and devised it is a means of restoring to administrative officials what the initiative and referendum restore to legislators—namely, a sense of direct responsibility to the people who chose them.

The recall of judges is another matter. Judges are not lawmakers. They are not administrators. Their duty is not to determine what the law shall be, but to determine what the law is. Their independence, their sense of dignity and of freedom, is of the first consequence to the stability of the state. To apply to them the principle of the recall is to set up the idea that determinations of what the law is must respond to popular

impulse and to popular judgment. It is sufficient that the people should have the power to change the law when they will. It is not necessary that they should directly influence by threat of recall those who merely interpret the law already established. The importance and desirability of the recall as a means of administrative control ought not to be obscured by drawing it into this other and very different field.

The second power we fear is the control of our life through the vast privileges of corporations which use the wealth of masses of men to sustain their enterprise. It is in connection with this danger that it is necessary to do some of our clearest and frankest thinking. It is a fundamental mistake to speak of the privileges of these great corporations as if they fell within the class of private right and of private property. Those who administer the affairs of great joint stock companies are really administering the property of communities, the property of the whole mass and miscellany of men who have bought the stock or the bonds that sustain the enterprise. The stocks and the bonds are constantly changing hands. There is no fixed partnership. Moreover, managers of such corporations are the trustees of moneys which they themselves never accumulated, but which have been drawn together out of private savings here, there, and everywhere.

What is necessary in order to rectify the whole mass of business of this kind is that those who control it should entirely change their point of view. They are trustees, not masters, of private property, not only because their power is derived from a multitude of men, but also because in its investment it affects a multitude of men. It determines the development or decay of communities. It is the means of lifting or depressing the life of the whole country. They must regard themselves as representatives of a public power. There can be no reasonable jealousy of public regulation in such matters, because the opportunities of all men are

affected. Their property is everywhere touched, their savings are everywhere absorbed, their employment is everywhere determined, by these great agencies. What we need, therefore, is to come to a common view which will not bring antagonisms, but accommodations. The programmes of parties must now be programmes of enlightenment and readjustment, not revolutionary, but restorative. The processes of change are largely processes of thought, but unhappily they cannot be effected without becoming political processes also, and that is the deep responsibility of public men. What we need, therefore, in our politics is an instant alignment of all men free and willing to think, and to act without fear upon their thought.

This is just as much a constructive age in politics, therefore, as was the great age in which our Federal government was set up, and the man who does not awake to the opportunity, the man who does not sacrifice private and exceptional interests in order to serve the common and public interest, is declining to take part in the business of a heroic age. I am sorry for the man who is so blind that he does not see the opportunity, and I am happy in the confidence that in this era men of strength and of principle will see their opportunity of immortal service.

I am not one of those who wish to break connections with the past, nor am I one of those who wish change for the mere sake of variety. The only men who do that are the men who want to forget something, the men who filled yesterday with something they would rather not recall to-day. Change is not interesting unless it is constructive, and it is an age of construction that must put fire into the blood of any man worthy of the name.

THE BIBLE AND PROGRESS

ADDRESS IN THE AUDITORIUM, DENVER, AT THE TRICENTENARY CELEBRATION OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, MAY 7, 1911. FROM "CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, APPENDIX 499-502.

MR. PRESIDENT, ladies and gentlemen, the thought that entered my mind first as I came into this great room this evening framed itself in a question, Why should this great body of people have come together upon this solemn night? There is nothing here to be seen. There is nothing delectable here to be heard. Why should you run together in a great host when all that is to be spoken of is the history of a familiar book?

But as I have sat and looked upon this great body of people I have thought of the very suitable circumstance that here upon the platform sat a little group of ministers of the gospel lost in this great throng.

I say the "suitable circumstance," for I come here to-night to speak of the Bible as the book of the people, not the book of the minister of the gospel, not the special book of the priest from which to set forth some occult, unknown doctrine withheld from the common understanding of men, but a great book of revelation—the people's book of revelation. For it seems to me that the Bible has revealed the people to themselves. I wonder how many persons in this great audience realize the significance for English-speaking peoples of the translation of the Bible into the English tongue. Up to the time of the translation of the Bible into English, it was a book for long ages withheld from the perusal

of the peoples of other languages and of other tongues, and not a little of the history of liberty lies in the circumstance that the moving sentences of this book were made familiar to the ears and the understandings of those peoples who have led mankind in exhibiting the forms of government and the impulses of reform which have made for freedom and for self-government among mankind.

For this is a book which reveals men unto themselves, not as creatures in bondage, not as men under human authority, not as those bidden to take counsel and command of any human source. It reveals every man to himself as a distinct moral agent, responsible not to men, not even to those men whom he has put over him in authority, but responsible through his own conscience to his Lord and Maker. Whenever a man sees this vision he stands up a free man, whatever may be the government under which he lives, if he sees beyond the circumstances of his own life.

I heard a very eloquent sermon to-day from an honoured gentleman who is with us to-night. He was speaking upon the effect of a knowledge of the future life upon our conduct in this life. And it seemed to me that as I listened to him I saw the flames of those fires re-kindled at which the martyrs died—died forgetful of their pain, with praise and thanksgiving upon their lips, that they had the opportunity to render their testimony that this was not the life for which they had lived, but that there was a house builded in the heavens, not built of men, but built of God, to the vision of which they had lifted their eyes as they passed through the world, which gave them courage to fear no man, but to serve God. And I thought that all the records of heroism, of the great things that had illustrated human life, were summed up in the power of men to see that vision.

Our present life, ladies and gentlemen, is a very imperfect and disappointing thing. We do not judge our own conduct in the privacy of our own closets by the

standard of expediency by which we are daily and hourly governed. We know that there is a standard set for us in the heavens, a standard revealed to us in this book which is the fixed and eternal standard by which we judge ourselves, and as we read this book it seems to us that the pages of our own hearts are laid open before us for our own perusal. This is the people's book of revelation, revelation of themselves not alone, but revelation of life and of peace. You know that human life is a constant struggle. For a man who has lost the sense of struggle life has ceased.

I believe that my confidence in the judgment of the people in matters political is based upon my knowledge that the men who are struggling are the men who know; that the men who are in the midst of the great effort to keep themselves steady in the pressure and rush of life are the men who know the significance of the pressure and the rush of life, and that they, the men on the make, are the men to whom to go for your judgments of what life is and what its problems are. And in this book there is peace simply because we read here the object of the struggle. No man is satisfied with himself as the object of the struggle.

There is a very interesting phrase that constantly comes to our lips which we perhaps do not often enough interpret in its true meaning. We see many a young man start out in life with apparently only this object in view—to make name and fame and power for himself, and there comes a time of maturity and reflection when we say of him, "He has come to himself." When may I say that I have come to myself? Only when I have come to recognize my true relations with the rest of the world. We speak of a man losing himself in a desert. If you reflect a moment you will see that is the only thing he has not lost. He himself is there. What he means when he says that he has lost himself is that he has lost all the rest of the world. He has nothing to steer by. He does not know where any human habi-

tation lies. He does not know where any beaten path and highway is. If he could establish his relationship with anything else in the world he would have found himself. Let it serve as a picture.

A man has found himself when he has found his relation to the rest of the universe, and here is the book in which those relations are set forth. And so when you see a man going along the highways of life with his gaze lifted above the road, lifted to the sloping ways in front of him, then be careful of that man and get out of his way. He knows the kingdom for which he is bound. He has seen the revelation of himself and of his relations to mankind. He has seen the revelations of his relation to God and his Maker, and therefore he has seen his responsibility in the world. This is the revelation of life and of peace. I do not know that peace lies in constant accommodation. I was once asked if I would take part in a great peace conference, and I said, "Yes; if I may speak in favour of war"—not the war which we seek to avoid, not the senseless and useless and passionate shedding of human blood, but the only war that brings peace, the war with human passions and the war with human wrong—the war which is that untiring and unending process of reform from which no man can refrain and get peace.

No man can sit down and withhold his hands from the warfare against wrong and get peace out of his acquiescence. The most solid and satisfying peace is that which comes from this constant spiritual warfare, and there are times in the history of nations when they must take up the crude instruments of bloodshed in order to vindicate spiritual conceptions. For liberty is a spiritual conception, and when men take up arms to set other men free, there is something sacred and holy in the warfare. I will not cry "peace" so long as there is sin and wrong in the world. And this great book does not teach any doctrine of peace so long as there is sin to

be combated and overcome in one's own heart and in the great moving force of human society.

And so it seems to me that we must look upon the Bible as the great charter of the human soul—as the “Magna Charta” of the human soul. You know the interesting circumstances which gave rise to the Magna Charta. You know the moving scene that was enacted upon the heath at Runnymede. You know how the barons of England, representing the people of England—for they consciously represented the people of England—met upon that historic spot and parleyed with John, the King. They said, “We will come to terms with you here.” They said, “There are certain inalienable rights of English-speaking men which you must observe. They are not given by you, they cannot be taken away by you. Sign your name here to this parchment upon which these rights are written and we are your subjects. Refuse to put your name to this document and we are your sworn enemies. Here are our swords to prove it.”

The franchise of human liberty made the basis of a bargain with a king. There are kings upon the pages of Scripture, but do you think of any king in Scripture as anything else than a mere man? There was the great King David, of a line blessed because the line from which should spring our Lord and Saviour, a man marked in the history of mankind as the chosen instrument of God to do justice and exalt righteousness in the people.

But what does this Bible do for David? Does it utter eulogies upon him? Does it conceal his faults and magnify his virtues? Does it set him up as a great statesman would be set up in a modern biography? No; the book in which his annals are written strips the mask from David, strips every shred of counterfeit and concealment from him and shows him as indeed an instrument of God, but a sinful and selfish man, and the verdict of the Bible is that David, like other men, was one day to stand naked before the judgment seat of God

and be judged not as a king but as a man. Is not this the book of the people? Is there any man in this Holy Scripture who is exempted from the common standard and judgment? How these pages teem with the masses of mankind. Are these the annals of the great? These are the annals of the people—of the common run of men.

The New Testament is the history of the life and the testimony of common men who rallied to the fellowship of Jesus Christ and who by their faith and preaching remade a world that was under the thrall of the Roman army. This is the history of the triumph of the human spirit, in the persons of humble men. And how many sorts of men march across the pages, how infinite is the variety of human circumstance and of human dealings and of human heroism and love! Is this a picture of extraordinary things? This is a picture of the common life of mankind. It is a mirror held up for men's hearts, and it is in this mirror that we marvel to see ourselves portrayed.

How like to the Scripture is all great literature! What is it that entrances us when we read or witness a play of Shakespeare? It is the consciousness that this man, this all-observing mind, saw men of every cast and kind as they were in their habits, as they lived. And as passage succeeds passage we seem to see the characters of ourselves and our friends portrayed by this ancient writer, and a play of Shakespeare is just as modern to-day as upon the day it was penned and first enacted. And the Bible is without age or date or time. It is a picture of the human heart displayed for all ages and for all sorts and conditions of men. Moreover, the Bible does what is so invaluable in human life—it classifies moral values. It apprises us that men are not judged according to their wits, but according to their characters—that the last of every man's reputation is his truthfulness, his squaring his conduct with the stand-

ards that he knew to be the standards of purity and rectitude.

How many a man we appraise, ladies and gentlemen, as great to-day whom we do not admire as noble! A man may have great power and small character. And the sweet praise of mankind lies not in their admiration of the smartness with which the thing was accomplished, but in that lingering love which apprises men that one of their fellows has gone out of life to his own reckoning, where he is sure of the blessed verdict, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Did you ever look about you in any great city, in any great capital, at the statues which have been erected in it? To whom are these statues erected? Are they erected to the men who have piled fortunes about them? I do not know of any such statue anywhere, unless after he had accumulated his fortune the man bestowed it in beneficence upon his fellow-men, and alongside of him will stand a statue of another meaning, for it is easy to give money away. I heard a friend of mine say that the standard of generosity was not the amount you gave away, but the amount you had left. It is easy to give away of your abundance; but look at the next statue, the next statue, and the next in the market place of great cities, and whom will you see? You will see here a soldier who gave his life to serve, not his own ends, but the interests and the purposes of his country.

I would be the last, ladies and gentlemen, to disparage any of the ordinary occupations of life, but I want to ask you this question: Did you ever see anybody who had lost a son hang up his yardstick over the mantelpiece? Have you not seen many families who had lost their sons hang up their muskets and their swords over the mantelpiece? What is the difference between the yardstick and the musket? There is nothing but perfect honour in the use of the yardstick, but the yardstick was used for the man's own interest, for his own self-support. It was used merely to fulfill the necessary

exigencies of life, whereas the musket was used to serve no possible purpose of his own. He took every risk without any possibility of profit. The musket is the symbol of self-sacrifice and the yardstick is not. A man will instinctively elevate the one as the symbol of honour and never dream of using the other as a symbol of distinction.

Doesn't that cut pretty deep, and don't you know why the soldier has his monument as against the civilian's? The civilian may have served his State—he also—and here and there you may see a statesman's statue, but the civilian has generally served his country—has often served his country, at any rate—with some idea of promoting his own interests, whereas the soldier has everything to lose and nothing but the gratitude of his fellow-men to win.

Let every man pray that he may in some true sense be a soldier of fortune, that he may have the good fortune to spend his energies and his life in the service of his fellow-men in order that he may die to be recorded upon the rolls of those who have not thought of themselves but have thought of those whom they served. Isn't this the lesson of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Am I not reminding you of these common judgments of our life, simply expounding to you this book of revelation, this book which reveals the common man to himself, which strips life of its disguises and its pretenses and elevates those standards by which alone true greatness and true strength and true valour are assessed?

Do you wonder, therefore, that when I was asked what my theme this evening would be I said it would be "The Bible and Progress"? We do not judge progress by material standards. America is not ahead of the other nations of the world because she is rich. Nothing makes America great except her thoughts, except her ideals, except her acceptance of those standards of judgment which are written large upon these pages of revelation. America has all along claimed the distinc-

tion of setting this example to the civilized world—that men were to think of one another, that governments were to be set up for the service of the people, that men were to be judged by these moral standards which pay no regard to rank or birth or conditions, but which assess every man according to his single and individual value. This is the meaning of this charter of the human soul. This is the standard by which men and nations have more and more come to be judged. And so the form has consisted in nothing more nor less than this—in trying to conform actual conditions, in trying to square actual laws with the right judgments of human conduct and more than liberty.

That is the reason that the Bible has stood at the back of progress. That is the reason that reform has come not from the top but from the bottom. If you are ever tempted to let a government reform itself, I ask you to look back in the pages of history and find me a government that reformed itself. If you are ever tempted to let a party attempt to reform itself, I ask you to find a party that ever reformed itself.

A tree is not nourished by its bloom and by its fruit. It is nourished by its roots, which are down deep in the common and hidden soil, and every process of purification and rectification comes from the bottom—not from the top. It comes from the masses of struggling human beings. It comes from the instinctive efforts of millions of human hearts trying to beat their way up into the light and into the hope of the future.

Parties are reformed and governments are corrected by the impulses coming out of the hearts of those who never exercised authority and never organized parties. Those are the sources of strength, and I pray God that these sources may never cease to be spiritualized by the immortal subjections of these words of inspiration of the Bible.

If any statesman sunk in the practices which debase a nation will but read this single book, he will go to

his prayers abashed. Do you not realize, ladies and gentlemen, that there is a whole literature in the Bible? It is not one book, but a score of books. Do you realize what literature is? I am sometimes sorry to see the great classics of our English literature used in the schools as textbooks, because I am afraid that little children may gain the impression that these are formal lessons to be learned. There is no great book in any language, ladies and gentlemen, that is not the spontaneous outpouring of some great mind on the cry of some great heart. And the reason that poetry moves us more than prose does is that it is the rhythmic and passionate voice of some great spirit that has seen more than his fellow-men can see.

I have found more true politics in the poets of the English-speaking race than I have ever found in all the formal treatises on political science. There is more of the spirit of our own institutions in a few lines of Tennyson than in all the textbooks on governments put together :

A nation still, the rules and the ruled,
Some sense of duty, something of a faith,
Some reverence for the laws ourselves have made,
Some patient force to change them when we will,
Some civic manhood firm against the crowd.

Can you find summed up the manly, self-helping spirit of Saxon liberty anywhere better than in those few lines? Men afraid of nobody, afraid of nothing but their own passions, on guard against being caught unaware by their own sudden impulses and so getting their grapple upon life in firm-set institutions, some reverence for the laws themselves have made, some patience, not passionate force, to change them when they will, some civic manhood firm against the crowd. Literature, ladies and gentlemen, is revelation of the human spirit, and within the covers of this one book is a whole lot of literature, prose and poetry, history and rhapsody, the

sober narration of the ecstasy of human excitement—things that ring in one's ears like songs never to be forgotten. And so I say let us never forget that these deep sources, these wells of inspiration, must always be our sources of refreshment and of renewal. Then no man can put unjust power upon us. We shall live in that chartered liberty in which a man sees the things unseen, in which he knows that he is bound for a country in which there are no questions mooted any longer of right or wrong.

Can you imagine a man who did not believe these words, who did not believe in the future life, standing up and doing what has been the heart and center of liberty always—standing up before the king himself and saying, "Sir, you have sinned and done wrong in the sight of God, and I am His messenger of judgment to pronounce upon you the condemnation of Almighty God. You may silence me, you may send me to my reckoning with my Maker, but you cannot silence or reverse the judgment." That is what a man feels whose faith is rooted in the Bible. And the man whose faith is rooted in the Bible knows that reform cannot be stayed, that the finger of God that moves upon the face of the nations is against every man that plots the nation's downfall or the people's deceit; that these men are simply groping and staggering in their ignorance to a fearful day of judgment; and that whether one generation witnesses it or not the glad day of revelation and of freedom will come in which men will sing by the host of the coming of the Lord in His glory, and all of those will be forgotten—those little, scheming, contemptible creatures that forgot the image of God and tried to frame men according to the image of the evil one.

You may remember that allegorical narrative in the Old Testament of those who searched through one cavern after another, cutting the holes in the walls and going into the secret places where all sorts of noisome things were worshipped. Men do not dare to let the

sun shine in upon such things and upon such occupations and worships. And so I say there will be no halt to the great movement of the armies of reform until men forget their God, until they forget this charter of their liberty. Let no man suppose that progress can be divorced from religion or that there is any other platform for the ministers of reform than the platform written in the utterances of our Lord and Saviour.

America was born a Christian nation. America was born to exemplify that devotion to the elements of righteousness which are derived from the revelations of Holy Scripture.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have a very simple thing to ask of you. I ask of every man and woman in this audience that from this night on they will realize that part of the destiny of America lies in their daily perusal of this great book of revelations—that if they would see America free and pure they will make their own spirits free and pure by this baptism of the Holy Scripture.

DEMOCRACY'S OPPORTUNITY

ADDRESS AT RALLY OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS AT HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA, JUNE 15, 1911. FROM "THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, APPENDIX, 519-520.

WE are met here to renew our allegiance to the great party which we serve and to take counsel with regard to its welfare. A great work waits to be done for the country—a great work of counsel and of action. It calls its challenge to every man who desires to serve and has no fear. Are we wise and strong and sober and united enough to do it? Have we the knowledge, the self-possession, the poise, the courage? Are we the men? The country shall decide, but it is within our choice to deserve its confidence and concert a course of patriotic action which should commend us to all just and purposeful men.

There has, first and last, been a great deal of idle talk about divisions in the Democratic party, and men here and there have spoken as if it were possible for this individual or that to disrupt it and to break the splendid continuity of its history. Men who speak such empty predictions are forgetful of the history of the party. It is the one party in the United States which has continued unbroken from the beginning of our national history until now. Other parties have risen and fallen, have come into existence and passed utterly away, but the Democratic party has renewed itself from generation to generation with an indomitable youth. It is never the party of the past, but always the party of the present and the future, always taking new life with the changing circumstances of the nation.

Whenever things are to be done in a new way, in response to a new popular impulse, in obedience to the great democratic traditions of the nation itself, it is to the Democratic party that the country naturally turns. It has been spoken of as the party of opposition, the party of protest, and its long, unbroken party history has been attributed to the fact that it did not attempt a constructive programme, but was always critical and on the defensive, always harking back to ideals set up at the foundation of the government, to which it was never wholly possible for it to adjust its own actual policies. But, although there have been times when this characterization of it would seem to have been justified by the fact, the history of the country abounds in instances when our great party showed itself constructive and aggressive, not protesting, but performing, not criticising, but projecting great reforms. Other parties have tied themselves up to particular lines of action to which they presently became wholly subject, upon which they at length became dependent, but the Democratic party has remained free to act, free to take on the new elements of popular impulse, free to read new times in new terms.

Its freedom is now about to serve it in an extraordinary degree. Those who look about them see parties apparently breaking up; but if they will look closer what they will see is simply this, that men are turning away by the thousands from those courses of policy and of action to which the alliances and practices of the Republican party have at last bound the country as if with a grip of iron. The free elements of thought in the country are asserting themselves with an extraordinary energy and majesty that must presently work profound changes and mark this as one of the most noteworthy eras of our politics. But they are not exerting themselves to destroy, they are exerting themselves, rather, to find means of coöperation and action. Some men among the Republican leaders see what it is neces-

sary to do, but they are not numerous enough to dominate their party counsels; they cannot turn or guide the great organization of their party in the direction of the desired reforms. The great mass of voters in the country perceive this. They are looking, therefore, with great expectation toward the Democratic party to see if it will now, at this critical juncture, prove true to its traditions and supply them with men and measures.

The Democratic party has always had the impulse of reform because it has always been based upon deep and fundamental sympathy with the interests of the people at large. It has now only to prove that its impulse can find expression in a wise and feasible programme in order to capture both the imagination and the allegiance of the country. It is this power of self-removal, this power of looking forward, this power of realizing the present and projecting itself into the future that has kept it young and which must now make it the party of young men, the party to which those must resort who are coming for the first time into the activities of politics; with which those must ally themselves whose hopes are forming into purposes, whose impulses are framing themselves by sober thought into concrete judgments, who know what they want and are fast finding out by what means they can get what they want.

If we recount the items of the liberal programme to which the country is now looking forward, it will be easy to see that it is already the programme of the Democratic party. The first item of that programme is that the *machinery of political control must be put in the hands of the people*. That means, translated into concrete terms, direct primaries, a short ballot, and, wherever necessary, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. These things are being desired and obtained, not by way of revolution, not even with a desire to effect any fundamental change in our governmental system, but for the purpose of recovering what seems to have been lost—the people's control of their own

instruments, their right to exercise a free and constant choice in the management of their own affairs.

Another great item of the programme is that the service rendered the people by the *national government must be of a more extended sort and of a kind* not only to protect it against monopoly, but also to facilitate its life. We are, therefore, in favour of postal savings banks and of a parcel post, and feel with some chagrin that we have lagged behind the other free nations of the world in establishing those manifestly useful and necessary instruments of our common life.

The revision of the tariff, of course, looms big and central in the programme, *because it is in the tariff schedules that half the monopolies* of the country have found covert and protection and opportunity. *We do not mean to strike at any essential economic arrangement*, but we do mean to drive all beneficiaries of governmental policy into the open and demand of them by what principle of national advantage, as contrasted with selfish privilege, they enjoy the extraordinary assistance extended to them.

The *regulation of corporations* is hardly less significant and central. We have made many experiments in this difficult matter, and some of them have been crude and hurtful, but our thought is slowly clearing. We are beginning to see, for one thing, how public service corporations, at any rate, can be governed with great advantage to the public and without serious detriment to themselves, as undertakings of private capital. Experience is removing both prejudice and fear in this field, and it is likely that within the very near future we shall have settled down to some common, rational and effective policy. The regulation of corporations of other sorts lies intimately connected with the general question of monopoly, a question which ramifies in a thousand directions, but the intricate threads of which, we are slowly beginning to perceive, constitute a decipherable pattern. Measures will here also frame

themselves soberly enough as we think our way forward.

Again there is the great question of *conservation*. We are not yet clear as to all the methods, but we are absolutely clear as to the principle and the intention and shall not be satisfied until we have found the way, not only to preserve our great national resources, but also to conserve the strength and health and energy of our people themselves by protection against wrongful forms of labour and by securing them against the myriad forms of harm which have come from the selfish uses of economic power.

Beyond all these, waiting to be solved, lying as yet in the hinterland of party policy, *lurks the great question of banking reform*. The plain fact is that control of credit—at any rate of credit upon any large scale—is dangerously concentrated in this country. The large money resources of the country are not at the command of those who do not submit to the direction and domination of small groups of capitalists, who wish to keep the economic development of the country under their own eye and guidance. The great monopoly in this country *is the money monopoly*. So long as that exists our old variety and freedom and individual energy of development are out of the question. A great industrial nation is controlled by its system of credit. Our system of credit is concentrated. The growth of the nation, therefore, and all our activities are in the hands of a few men who, even if their action be honest and intended for the public interest, are necessarily concentrated upon the great undertakings in which their own money is involved and who necessarily, by very reason of their own limitations, chill and check and destroy genuine economic freedom. This is the greatest question of all, and to this statesmen must address themselves with an earnest determination to serve the long future and the true liberties of men.

I have said that the Democratic party is now to

attempt constructive statesmanship. There are well-known conditions which surround so great a task. In the first place it cannot be executed if attempted with inconsiderate haste. That is not constructive which is loosely or hastily put together. Its parts must be sound, and their combination must be true and vital. No man can in a moment put great policies together and reconstruct a whole order of life.

We must remember that the abuses we seek to remedy have come into existence as incidents of the great structure of industry we have built up. This structure is the work of our own hands; our own lives are involved in it. Reckless attacks upon it, destructive assaults against it would jeopardize our own lives and disturb, it might be fatally, the very progress we seek to attain. It would be particularly fatal to any successful programme to admit into our minds, as we pursue it, any spirit of revenge, any purpose to wreak our displeasure upon the persons and the institutions who now represent the abuses we deprecate and seek to destroy. I do not say these things because I feel that there is danger of vengeful action or of revolutionary haste, but merely because we ought always to recognize that it is of the very essence of constructive statesmanship that we should think and act temperately, wisely, justly, in the spirit of those who reconstruct and amend, not in the spirit of those who destroy and seek to build from the foundations again.

The American people are an eminently just and an intensely practical people. They do not wish to lay violent hands upon their own affairs, but they do claim the right to look them over with close and frank and fearless scrutiny from top to bottom; to look at them from within as well as from without, in their most intimate and private details, as well as in their obvious exterior proportions; and they do hold themselves at liberty, attacking one point at a time, to readjust, correct, purify, rearrange; not destroying or even injuring

the elements, but filling their altered combination with a new spirit. This is the task of the Democratic party. It is the task of all statesmanship. It is a task which just at this particular juncture in our affairs looms particularly big. It is not ominous, but inviting; not alarming, but inspiriting. We should congratulate ourselves that we have an opportunity to take part in the true spirit of those who would serve a great country, in a task which may recover for America her old happiness and confidence, her old spirit of triumphant democracy.

THE LAWYER IN POLITICS.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE KENTUCKY BAR ASSOCIATION AT
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, JULY 12, 1911. FROM
"THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D
SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, APPENDIX, 498-499.

MR. PRESIDENT, ladies and gentlemen, the lawyer is, by very definition, an expert in the law; and society lives by law. Without it its life is vague, inchoate, disordered, vexed with a hopeless instability. At every turn of its experience society tries to express its life, therefore, in law—to make the rules of its action universal and imperative. This is the whole process of politics. Politics is the struggle for law, for an institutional expression of the changing life of society.

Of course, this is the deeper view of politics. It is not the view of the mere party man or of the professional politician. He thinks chiefly, no doubt, of the offices and their emoluments; of the tenure of power; of the choice of policy from day to day in the administration of the various departments of government; of the hundred advantages, both personal and partisan, which can be obtained in a successful contest for the control of the instruments of politics; but even he cannot escape the deeper view at last. He must express the policy of his party or the advantage gained by his occupation of office in statutes, in rules of law, imposed in the interest of some class or group, if not in the interest of society at large. He is really, in the last analysis, struggling to control law and the development and use of institutions. He needs as much as the statesman does the assistance of the legal expert, the skill of the technical

guide; the lawyer must be at his elbow to see that he plays the game according to the nominal rules.

The lawyer, therefore, has always been indispensable, whether he merely guided the leaders or was himself the leader, and nowhere has the lawyer played a more prominent part in politics than in England and America, where the rules of law have always been the chief instruments of contest and regulation, of liberty and efficient organization, and the chief means of lifting society from one stage to the next of its slow development.

The lawyer's ideal part in this unending struggle is easy to conceive. There is long experience stored up in the history of law. He, above all other men, should have a quick perception of what is feasible, of the new things that will fit into the old, of the experiences which should be heeded, the wrongs that should be remedied, and the rights that should be more completely realized. He knows out of his own practice how pitiful, oftentimes, against how many obstacles, amidst how many impediments, often interposed by the law itself, sometimes interposed by the ignorance of society or by the malevolence of designing men, the men about him make their daily effort to live free from the unnecessary interference or the selfish stupidity or the organized opposition of their neighbours and rivals. He knows what forces gather and work their will in the field of industry, of commerce, of all enterprise. He, if any man, knows where justice breaks down, where law needs amplification or amendment or radical change, what the alterations are that must be effected before the right will come into action easily and certainly and with genuine energy. He should at every turn be the mediator between groups of men, between all contending and contesting interests. He should show how differences are to be moderated, and antagonisms adjusted and society given peace and ease of movement.

He can play this ideal part, however, only if he has the right insight and sympathy. If he regards his prac-

tice as a mere means of livelihood, if he is satisfied to put his expert advice at the service of any interest or enterprise, if he does not regard himself as an officer of the State, but only as an agent of private interest, if, above all, he does not really see the wrongs that are accumulating, the mischief that is being wrought, the hearts that are being broken and the lives that are being wrecked, the hopes that are being snuffed out and the energies that are being sapped, he cannot play the part of guide or moderator or adviser in the large sense that will make him a statesman and a benefactor.

It is a hard thing to exact of him, no doubt, that he should have a non-professional attitude toward law, that he should be more constantly conscious of his duties as a citizen than of his interests as a practitioner, but nothing less than that will fit him to play the really great rôle intended for his profession in the great plot of affairs. He must breed himself in the true philosophy of his calling. It is his duty to see from the point of view of all sorts and conditions of men, of the men whom he is not directly serving as well as of those whom he is directly serving.

This is a matter of character, of disposition, and of training outside the schools of law, in the broader schools of duty and of citizenship and of patriotism. It is a great conception when once a lawyer has filled himself with it. It lifts him oftentimes to a very high place of vision and of inspiration. It makes of him the custodian of the honour and integrity of a great social order, an instrument of humanity, because an instrument of justice and fair dealing and of all those right adjustments of life that make the world fit to live in.

If I contrast with this ideal conception of the function of the lawyer in society what I may be excused for calling his actual rôle in the struggle for law and progress and the renovation of affairs, I hope that I will not be interpreted as suggesting a view of our great profession which is in any wise touched with cynicism or

even with the spirit of harsh criticism. The facts do not justify a cynical view of the profession or even a fear that it may be permanently losing the spirit which has ruled the action of the greater members of the bar and of the immortal judges who have presided at the birth and given strength and fibre to the growth and liberty and human right. I wish to submit what I have to say in all fairness and without colour even of discouragement.

The truth is that the technical training of the modern American lawyer, his professional prepossessions and his business involvements, impose limitations upon him and subject him to temptations which seriously stand in the way of his rendering the ideal service to society which is demanded by the true standards and canons of his profession. Modern business, in particular, with its huge and complicated processes, has tended to subordinate him, to make of him a servant, an instrument instead of a free adviser and a master of justice. My professional life has afforded me a rather close view of the training of the modern lawyer in schools, and I must say that it seems to me an intensely technical training. Even the greater and broader principles of which the elder lawyers used to discourse with a touch of broad philosophy, those principles which used to afford writers like Blackstone occasion for incidental disquisitions on the character and history of society, now wear in our teaching so technical an aspect, are seen through the medium of so many wire-drawn decisions, are covered with so thick a gloss of explanation and ingenious interpretation, that they do not wear an open and genial and human aspect, but seem to belong to some recondite and private science.

Moreover, the prepossessions of the modern lawyer are all in favour of his close identification with his clients. The lawyer deems himself in conscience bound to be contentious, to manœuvre for every advantage, to contribute to his clients' benefit his skill in a difficult and

hazardous game. He seldom thinks of himself as the advocate of society. His very feeling that he is the advocate now of this, now of that, and again of another special individual interest separates him from broader conceptions. He moves in the atmosphere of private rather than public service. Moreover, he is absorbed now more than ever before into the great industrial organism. His business becomes more and more complicated and specialized. His studies and his services are apt to become more and more confined to some special field of law. He grows more and more a mere expert in the legal side of a certain class of great industrial or financial undertakings. The newspapers and the public in general speak of "corporation lawyers," and of course the most lucrative business of our time is derived from the need that the great business combinations we call corporations have at every turn of their affairs of an expert legal adviser. It is apt to happen with the most successful, and by that test the most eminent, lawyers of our American communities that by the time they reach middle life their thoughts have become fixed in very hard and definite moulds. Though they have thought honestly, they are apt to have thought narrowly; they have not made themselves men of wide sympathies or discernment.

It is evident what must happen in such circumstances. The bench must be filled from the bar, and it is growing increasingly difficult to supply the bench with disinterested, unspoiled lawyers, capable of being the free instruments of society, the friends and guides of statesmen, the interpreters of the common life of the people, the mediators of the great process by which justice is led from one enlightenment and liberalization to another.

For the notable, I had almost said fundamental, circumstance of our political life is that our courts are, under our constitutional system, the means of our political development. Every change in our law, every modi-

fication of political practice, must sooner or later pass under their scrutiny. We can go only as fast as the legal habit of mind of our lawyers will permit. Our politics are bound up in the mental character and attitude and in the intellectual vigour and vision of our lawyers. Ours is so intensely and characteristically a legal polity that our politics depend upon our lawyers. They are the ultimate instruments of our life.

There are two present and immediate tests of the serviceability of the legal profession to the Nation, which I think will at once be recognized as tests which it is fair to apply. In the first place, there is the critical matter of reform of legal procedure—the almost invariable theme, if I am not mistaken, of all speakers upon this question from the President of the United States down. America lags far behind other countries in the essential matter of putting the whole emphasis in our courts upon the substance of right and justice. If the bar associations of this country were to devote themselves, with the great knowledge and ability at their command, to the utter simplification of judicial procedure, to the abolition of technical difficulties and pitfalls, to the removal of every unnecessary form, to the absolute subordination of method to the object sought, they would do a great patriotic service, which, if they will not address themselves to it, must be undertaken by laymen and novices. The actual miscarriages of justice, because of nothing more than a mere slip in a phrase or a mere error in an immaterial form, are nothing less than shocking. Their number is incalculable, but much more incalculable than their number is the damage they do to the reputation of the profession and to the majesty and integrity of the law. Any one bar association which would show the way to radical reform in these matters would insure a universal reconsideration of the matter from one end of the country to the other and would by that means redeem the reputation of a great profession and set American society

forward a whole generation in its struggle for an equitable adjustment of its difficulties.

The second and more fundamental immediate test of the profession is its attitude toward the regulation of modern business, particularly of the powers and action of modern corporations. It is absolutely necessary that society should command its instruments and not be dominated by them. The lawyer, not the layman, has the best access to the means by which the reforms of our economic life can be best and most fairly accomplished. Never before in our history did those who guide affairs more seriously need the assistance of those who can claim an expert familiarity with the legal processes by which reforms may be effectually accomplished. It is in this matter more than in any other that our profession may now be said to be on trial. It will gain or lose the confidence of the country as it proves equal to the test or unequal.

As one looks about him at the infinite complexities of the modern problems of life, at the great tasks to be accomplished by law, at the issues of life and happiness and prosperity involved, one cannot but realize how much depends upon the part the lawyer is to play in the future politics of the country. If he will not assume the rôle of patriot and of statesman, if he will not lend all his learning to the service of the common life of the country, if he will not open his sympathies to common men and enlist his enthusiasm in those policies which will bring regeneration to the business of the country, less expert hands than his must attempt the difficult and perilous business. It will be clumsily done. It will be done at the risk of reaction against the law itself. It will be done perhaps with brutal disregard of the niceties of justice, with clumsiness instead of with skill.

The tendencies of the profession, therefore, its sympathies, its inclinations, its prepossessions, its training, its point of view, its motives, are part of the stuff and

substance of the destiny of the country. It is these matters rather than any others that bar associations should consider; for an association is greater than the individual lawyer. It should embody not the individual ambition of the practitioner, but the point of view of society with regard to the profession. It should hold the corporate conscience and consciousness of the profession. It is inspiring to think what might happen if but one great State bar association were to make up its mind and move toward these great objects with intelligence, determination, and indomitable perseverance.

THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWS.

ADDRESS AT CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 6,
1911. FROM "THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D
CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, APPENDIX,
497-498.

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen, the object of this meeting is not agitation, it is the statement of a plain case in such terms as may serve to arrest the attention of the Nation with regard to a matter which is of no mere local importance, which does not merely affect the rights and essential privileges of our Jewish fellow-citizens as freemen and Americans, but which touches the dignity of our Government and the maintenance of those rights of manhood which that Government was set up to vindicate.

The facts are these: For some 80 years a treaty has existed between this country and Russia in which it is explicitly covenanted and agreed that the inhabitants of the two nations shall have the liberty of entering any part of the territory of either that is open to foreign commerce; that they shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of the territory thus opened to commerce, in order to attend to their affairs; and that they shall enjoy the same security and protection as inhabitants of the country in which they are sojourning, on condition, of course, that they submit to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations there in force concerning commerce. For some 40 years the obligations of this treaty have been disregarded by Russia in respect of our Jewish fellow-citizens. Our Government has protested, but has never gone beyond protest. After 40 years of

more correspondence the Russian Government naturally does not expect the matter to be carried beyond protest to action, and so continues to act as it pleases in this matter, in the confidence that our Government does not seriously mean to include our Jewish fellow-citizens among those upon whose rights it will insist.

It is not necessary to conjecture the reasons. The treaty thus disregarded by Russia is a treaty of commerce and navigation. Its main object is trade, the sort of economic intercourse between the two nations that will promote the material interests of both. Important commercial and industrial relations have been established under it. Large American undertakings, we are informed, would be put in serious peril were those relations broken off. We must concede something, even at the expense of a certain number of our fellow-citizens, in order not to risk a loss greater than the object which would seem to justify.

I for one do not fear any loss. The economic relations of two great nations are not based upon sentiment; they are based upon interest. It is safe to say that in this instance they are not based upon mutual respect, for Russia cannot respect us when she sees us for 40 years together preferring our interests to our rights. Whatever our feeling may be with regard to Russia, whatever our respect for her statesmen or our sympathy with the great future in store for her people, she would certainly be justified in acting upon the expectation that we would follow our calculations of expediency rather than our convictions of right and justice. Only once or twice, it would seem, has she ever thought our Government in earnest. Should she ever deem it in earnest, respect would take the place of covert indifference and the treaty would be lived up to. If it was ever advantageous to her, it is doubly and trebly advantageous now, and her advantage would be her guide, as has been ours, in the maintenance of a treaty of trade and navigation.

If the Russian Government has felt through all these

years that it could ignore the protest of American ministers and Secretaries of State, it has been because the American Government spoke for special interests or from some special point of view and not for the American people. It is the fact that the attention of the American people has now been drawn to this matter that is altering the whole aspect of it.

We are a practical people. Like the rest of the world we establish our trade relations upon grounds of interest, not sentiment. The feeling of the American people toward the people of Russia has always been one of deep sympathy, and I believe of ready comprehension, and we have dealt with their Government in frankness and honour, wherever it appears that the interests of both nations could be served. We have not held off from cordial intercourse or withheld our respect because her political policy was so sharply contrasted with ours. Our desire is to be her friend and to make her relations with her closer and closer.

But there lies a principle back of our life. America is not a mere body of traders; it is a body of free men. Our greatness is built upon our freedom—is moral, not material. We have a great ardour for gain; but we have a deep passion for the rights of man. Principles lie back of our action. America would be inconceivable without them. These principles are not incompatible with great material prosperity. On the contrary, unless we are deeply mistaken, they are indispensable to it. We are not willing to have prosperity, however, if our fellow-citizens must suffer contempt for it, or lose the rights that belong to every American in order that we may enjoy it. The price is too great.

Here is a great body of our Jewish fellow-citizens, from whom have sprung men of genius in every walk of our varied life, men who have become part of the very stuff of America, who have conceived its ideals with singular clearness and led its enterprise with spirit and sagacity. They are playing a particularly conspicuous

part in building up the very prosperity of which our Government has so great a stake in its dealings with the Russian Government with regard to the rights of men. They are not Jews in America ; they are American citizens. In this great matter with which we deal to-night, we speak for them as for representatives and champions of principles which underlie the very structure of our Government. They have suddenly become representatives of us all. By our action for them shall be tested our sincerity, our genuineness, the reality of principle among us.

I am glad this question has been thus brought into the open. There is here a greater stake than any other upon which we could set our hearts. Here is the final test of our ability to square our politics with our principles. We may now enjoy the exhilaration of matching our professions with handsome performance. We are not here to express our sympathy with our Jewish fellow-citizens, but to make evident our sense of identity with them. This is not their cause ; it is America's. It is the cause of all who love justice and do right.

The means by which the wrongs we complain of may be set right are plain. There is no hostility in what we do toward the Russian Government. No man who takes counsel of principle will have in his thought anything but purposes of peace. There need be for us in this great matter no touch of anger. But the conquests of peace are based upon mutual respect. The plain fact of the matter is that for some 40 years we have observed the obligations of our treaty with Russia and she has not. That can go on no longer. So soon as Russia fully understands that it can go on no longer, that we must, with whatever regret, break off the intercourse between our people and our merchants, unless the agreements upon which it is based can be observed in letter and in spirit, the air will clear. There is every reason why our intercourse should be maintained and extended, but it cannot be upon such terms as at present.

If the explicit provisions of our present agreement cannot be maintained, we must reconsider the matter in the light of the altered circumstances and see upon what terms, if any, of mutual honour our intercourse may be reëstablished. We have advantages to offer her merchants, her mine owners, her manufacturers, which her Government will not despise. We are not suppliants. We come with gifts in our hands. Her statesmen see as clearly as ours. An intolerable situation will be remedied just as soon as Russia is convinced that for us it is indeed intolerable.

ON THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

LETTER TO PROF. R. H. DABNEY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
VIRGINIA, PUBLISHED IN THE RICHMOND "TIMES
DISPATCH," DECEMBER 26, 1911.

MY DEAR HEATH: We did not have a chance when I was with you to have our talk out about the initiative, referendum and recall; it may be worth while, therefore, in view of the importance of the subject, for me to summarize somewhat more formally what I said to you in scraps.

In the first place, with regard to my own state of mind, I surrender to the facts, as every candid man must. My whole prepossession—my whole reasoning—was against these things. But when I came into contact with candid, honest, public spirited men who could speak (with regard, for example, to Oregon) from personal observation and experience, they floored me flat with their narration of what had actually happened. I found in the men who had advocated these things, who had put them into operation, and who had accomplished things by them, not critics or opponents of representative government, but men who were eager to restore it where it had been lost, and who had taken—successfully taken—these means to recover for the people what they had unquestionably lost—control of their own affairs.

In short, they were not trying to change our institutions. The initiative, referendum and recall were to their eyes (as they are to mine) merely a means to an end—that end being the restoration of the control of public opinion. Where opinion already controls, where

there is now actual, genuine representative government, as I believe there is in Virginia and in the South in general, they are not necessary. Each State must judge for itself. I do not see how it could be made a subject of national policy. The people will, in my opinion, demand these measures only where they are manifestly necessary to take legislation and the control of administrative action away from special, hopelessly entrenched interests. They are no general or universal panaceas!

The recall of judges I am absolutely against, and always have been. It is a remedy for a symptom, not for a disease—the disease being the control of the system by influences which general opinion has ceased to control.

It interested me very much to find that even in Oregon literally no one thought of these new methods of action as a substitute for representative institutions, but only as a means of stimulation and control. They are as devoted to the idea of our representative institutions as we are—and are bent upon realizing these ideas in practice. That is their conscious object.

As for the recall, it is seldom used outside the municipalities. I do not remember an instance of its use on a State officer. It is merely “a gun behind the door.”

Faithfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

THE TARIFF.

ADDRESS BEFORE THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
NEW YORK, JANUARY 3, 1912. FROM "THE CON-
GRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION,
VOL. XLVIII, PP. 4748-4752.

MR. PRESIDENT and members of the National Democratic Club: It is with real pleasure that I find myself here again and realize as I look about me that these are familiar surroundings, for it has always been with unfailing cordiality that you have welcomed me, and I have always had the feeling that this was a place where it was worth while to say something, if one had anything to say.

I want to begin by congratulating the club upon the programme of action which it has formed under the leadership of its intelligent officers. It is very delightful that a club should see at the outset of a campaign just the most effectual way of conducting that campaign. A campaign can be conducted only by the intelligent and earnest coöperation of men. There is a singular difference, into the psychology of which I will not try to enter, between a campaign for tariff reform initiated by a professedly reform society and a campaign for tariff reform initiated by a professedly political association, for a political organization is known to exist in order to transact business. It does not exist merely for the purpose of discussing abstract ideas. You realize that when a club like this argues about tariff reform, that is the basis of a constructive programme, not merely the basis of exposition. You are not merely going to send lecturers around the country, but are going to debate the affairs of the Nation with the idea of

getting a sufficient number of fellow-citizens to stand with you; for, in spite of what some gentlemen have stated to the contrary, I am absolutely in favour of organization, but it depends upon what the organization is for. It depends upon how the organization is controlled. If the organization is privately owned, then I am not for it, because I don't propose being owned myself; but if the organization is intended for the co-operation of men of like minds, in order to accomplish a common purpose and to advance the fortunes of a party which means to serve the Nation, then I am for it. You judge an organization by the way in which it is controlled and the objects to which it devotes itself. If it devotes itself to public objects, then every man must believe in it; if it does not, then honest men must withdraw from it—and so I congratulate you upon having the true spirit of organization—an organization which is not meant merely to associate yourselves together, but to associate yourselves together for a common purpose, a national purpose, a purpose which has for its object legislation to affect the conditions of the whole country. There is something that stirs the red blood in a man when a programme of that sort is adopted.

I deem it an honour, therefore, to be associated with such men at the beginning of this campaign; and to have been asked to speak first is a particular honour, as if I could in some degree voice the purposes you have formed. If I do so, it will be simply because I have had a lifelong conviction that a very great degree of wrong has been done this country by the way in which the policy of protection has been applied to its affairs. I am not going into a general discussion of the theory of protection, because, according to a very classical phrase, it is not a theory but a condition which confronts us; a condition of the country; a condition of affairs; an organization of our economic system to our business system which has risen out of a special policy; a special set of circumstances. One of the peculiarities of the

tariff question is that it never seems to be settled; it is constantly recurrent, and there must be something very subtle to anybody who has studied history, in coming upon our old familiar friend in this question which has come up in every generation, to vex and perplex the American Nation again and again and again. You know it is one of the complaints of our business men that it is never settled; that Congress will not let it alone; will never let business live on any fixed schedule of duties. Now, that is generally said to be true, because there is an uneasy set of persons called politicians who must have some means by which to stir up trouble and create unfavourable opinion. The first thing I want to call to your attention—a thing that has caused a great deal of discussion up to the present time—is this: It is not the politicians who have started this business. If you want to take business out of politics, business ought voluntarily to get out of politics. The reason business is in politics now is that it has thrust itself in by going upon every occasion to Washington and insisting upon getting all that it can get from Congress. Politicians have not put the question of the tariff into politics. Business men have put the question of the tariff into politics, and there have been circumstances and situations in our politics of which they were all aware even when they could not be proven. At least one great party was going to control the business interests for fear the things they demanded of their politicians could not be got. Why has the Republican party habitually been associated with the policy of high tariffs? Because the Republican party consisted of a number of gentlemen of a practical turn of mind who could prove to you the economic necessity of the tariff? Not at all, but because the bills of the Republican party were paid by business men who wanted a high tariff. Now, suppose we put the shoe on the other foot and invite the gentlemen who want business let alone to let politics alone. I for my part agree to withdraw from

troubling business if business will withdraw from troubling politics. I want to know who first steps in and troubles the waters of the pool? We don't go in first, we are chased out of the pool; we are not allowed to get in first. And so I want to shift the burden of responsibility at the very beginning. Is it the politicians who rush to the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee when this question is going to be touched? Not at all. It is the gentlemen who want the tariff schedules arranged according to their interests who later state "it is just like you politicians, you never let business alone." I am not jesting; this is the true state of affairs, and I suggest a little reciprocity in "letting alone." I suggest that somebody else take the medicine they try to administer to us. Are they ready to make the bargain? They are not ready to make the bargain yet. They say, "We don't want the trouble of having to fix this up every time with the Ways and Means Committee. It worries us. We cannot calculate on to-morrow, because we do not know who are going to be members of the Ways and Means Committee. We do not know when it will happen that some men may get on that committee who know we are hampering them, and when that happens the game is going to get awkward."

Now, having shifted the responsibility, we are going to discuss the tariff question. We are to discuss it with the purpose of taking the tariff question out of politics. The only way to settle it is for the good of the country and not for the good of anybody in particular. Link it with special interests; let special interests have the chief interest in it, and you cannot settle it and take it out of politics. But once apply the rule of general interest and you have taken it out of politics. The minute you make it a tariff for revenue you have taken it out of politics. Then you have got something to stand on. I am not saying that you must do this thing offhand without considering all the vested interests that have been built up. That is a different proposition.

How you are going to do it is a different question. I am now discussing the idea you must hold in view when undertaking it. Well, then, let us realize that there is another reason we are taking up the tariff question again. The tariff question is not now what it was a generation ago. It is not the same question. We are not agitating the old question. We are taking up a question old in one sense, but which must be dealt with under circumstances so radically different that it is now a different question. There was a great deal to be said for the policy of protection. I was going to say a generation ago—but a generation and a half or two generations ago the men in favour of it defended it with the greatest success. They said:

“It does not matter how high a tariff wall you build around the country, because here is a great continent, with almost inexhaustible resources, in which initiative will build up a great many enterprises of a great many kinds and a great many enterprises of the same kind and prices will be kept down by competition. One of the things the people do not realize is that we have exhibited one of the biggest experiments in business that has ever been set up. There was once free trade within the whole area of this great country, free trade between innumerable competitors, and it was reasonable to expect then, as the earlier advocates of protection did expect, as great men later constantly believed it was reasonable to expect, that prices would be kept down by internal competition. But I don’t have to argue with you. Prices are not kept down by internal competition. I don’t have to point out to you gentlemen, noticing that the tariff wall was kept high and there was a snug covering behind it, that the beneficiaries consulted with one another and said, “Now, is it really necessary that we should cut one another’s throats?” These gentlemen in Washington will build this wall as high as we want it built. Let’s get together. If the law is too watchful, let us have an understanding. We are men

of honour. We will keep our word of honour. We can form an arrangement by which we can determine, to a very considerable extent at any rate, the price of the raw material. We can, if we will, control the sources of the raw materials by means *ad libitum*. We can buy mines we do not intend to use for a generation and keep them in our side pockets, and so we can cut out any automatic regulation of this kind, instead of having a price schedule that is not our own and in open competition with the market."

Don't you realize, in short, that the great combinations of modern business have made the old theory of protection absolutely antiquated? It is a preposterous theory. It is very beautiful as theory, but it doesn't work. If it worked, I would have some respect for it, but it is moribund. It has forgot how to work. It is stiff in the joints. And so I say we are not arguing with those who were not revered when alive, but, having died, are very much revered. You know Dean Swift's cynical translation of the old latin, "When scoundrels die let all bemoan them." There is a great pity that encaseth the dead, but even the dead, if they were to come back to life, would not say that the theory of protection is what it was once. It has lost all signs of vitality and youth.

Then there is another circumstance. This country was once in a process of development which has peculiarly come to an end. When Mr. Redfield came in this evening, the first thing I said to him was that I would not be here if I hadn't looked at his speeches. I primed myself on Mr. Redfield's speeches. If he recognizes these points, he must forgive me. I really thought of some of them myself. I leave it to him to pick out which is his. But one of the things which has impressed me jibes in with what I have often thought about the sharp turning point that occurred in the year 1898, after the Spanish war. This marks the end of an epoch for America. It marks the end of a domestic

epoch. After the Spanish war was over we joined the company of nations for the first time—at least for the first time since the very beginning, when we were very, very young—a child of the nations, having recently been the colony of a great trading nation. Without wealth we had many other things—a merchant marine, which we have carefully destroyed. Our flag, though a new flag, was on many seas. Our carrying trade was that of a nation young in its nationality, from whose coasts came men who could invade the seas, who could build any kind of craft, who knew the trading laws and trading ports of the round globe. But we invited this generation to forget all this and said, “We are going to shut ourselves in until we have formed this garden of our own.” We have developed that, and an interesting thing has happened, and if I am right in my facts the dealers in grain tell me that we are reaching the point when we won’t export grain, when we will need practically all the grain for our own consumption, and some men may live to see that day unless we do something for our farms. Now, the consequence is we will have no surplus grain to supply the world with at the time we reach the stage where we have a great deal of surplus manufactured product, and the whole thing has turned up by reason of this extraordinary condition.

Do you realize the extent of the audacity of the men who created the protective system? They said, “We are going to see to it that nothing is done for the farmers”—who at that time were producing the wealth of the Nation—“and that everything is done for the men who have not yet produced any wealth at all,” and by this process of favouritism and subsidizing of one kind or another, direct or indirect, we have altered the natural plans of life in this country.

How does it happen that when immigrants come to this country from agricultural regions they do not go to the farms, but are caught in the meshes of our cities? For the same reason that the boys of the plow of our

country have been turned away from the farms and into the factories. All the life blood of the country is being drained from the farms into the factories. A great many of the morbid conditions of our society are due to this same excessive fostering of one side of national life at the expense of the other. The alterations and economic balance of our life, the artificial stimulation, have destroyed that poise and balance which have been created by this protective policy. And now see what a point we have reached. We have stimulated it so much that we have not a large enough market or the means of disposing of the surplus product. This Nation calls itself a trading Nation, and has the knowledge of other manufacturing nations as to foreign markets, but whenever you have to ship any goods you have to ship them under some other flag than the flag of the United States. How did it happen that we destroyed our own merchant marine and were associated with the policy by which we taxed the stuff out of which ships were built? We could not build them, and so, as if by deliberation, we deprived ourselves of the carrying trade of the world, which, if we had kept on our original plan, we might have had almost to the exclusion of other nations.

It is a very rare treat, and possibly more delightful because it is so rare, in foreign water, to see the Stars and Stripes on a great ship. I never realized what the Stars and Stripes meant to me emotionally until one day in Plymouth Harbor I saw a ship sweep past me with the Stars and Stripes at her staff. It was an exceptionally rare sight, and I have never seen it since. I will remember that flag to my dying day. It was a rare specimen, an isolated testimonial to the spirit of a great national policy. And now we are getting very much interested in foreign markets, but the foreign markets are not particularly interested in us. We have not been very polite, we have not encouraged the intercourse with foreign markets that we might have encouraged, and have obstructed the influence of foreign com-

petition. So these circumstances make the tariff question a new question, our internal arrangements and new combinations of business on one side and on the other our external necessities and the need to give scope to our energy which is now pent up and confined within our own borders; and yet the standpat Republican leaders remain unenlightened, uninformed, absolutely blind and stubborn. They don't know anything has happened. I wish I remembered some nonsense rhymes I once knew, the only nonsense I ever talked. I would apply them to these gentlemen who talk in the same phrases that were used 30, 40, and 50 years ago; who quote the eminent statesmen of those days, supposing they are talking about the same things then talked about, whereas they cannot find those things anywhere within their range. Now, one of the things they say is that they are the guardians of prosperity, and that nothing but the protective system can bring us prosperity, and when you press them to define prosperity they will define it in terms of the bulk of business. One of their most delightful expositions of patriotic purpose is we must have new industries—if we have not got them we must acquire them at any cost. Prof. Taussig calls attention to the fact that in the debate in the Senate on the Aldrich bill Mr. Aldrich said, in defense of a duty of 50 per cent on some article, that he was just as willing to pay 300, 400, or 500 per cent, provided he could thereby bring that industry to this country. Mr. Aldrich's idea of prosperity is to get as many industries as possible established in this country at any price. Who pays the price, I would like to know? The consumer, of course; but, rather, the price is distributed in the readjustments of the whole economic system. It is impossible to find who pays it. If you could, you might make him mad. But the trouble is you cannot convince anybody in particular that he is paying it. But we, let us say in general terms, we are paying 50, 100, 200, or 300 per cent in order that some gentlemen may set

up and make a profit in some business that ought not to be set up in America, because America does not offer the ideal conditions. And that is prosperity! I understand prosperity to be the abundant, intelligent, economic development of resources possessed by the country itself. That is prosperity. It is using the plow, engines, mills, and water powers of this country just as you would use your own intellectual and physical resources. My prosperity consists in the best possible development of my powers. It does not consist in my loading my back with borrowed plumage that I have to pay something for and wear with an unaccustomed awkwardness. That is not prosperity. And by the same token they say you are making business, therefore you are making employment, and we must assume—we must still assume—that the American workingman is so ignorant, so unintelligent, as to suppose they are doing it for his sake. I'd like to know how he ever got into the game. I'd like to know how many gentlemen voluntarily share the profits of production with their workingmen. I know how the workingmen got their share—they got it by saying that they would not work until they did. That's the way they ever got it. They tell you, gentlemen, that you cut up the pie very well; but we are not going to supply the pie any more unless we have a piece of it. And I don't blame them. It's a grab game, anyhow. That's exactly what the manufacturers were doing—going down to Washington and saying, "If you don't give us these things, who is going to pay the campaign expenses this year?" They were on strike; they were combined on strike. Now, it was only treating them with their own medicine when their workingmen said, "We, too, can play at that game. We are on strike. How much are we going to get?" And the only reason they did not get it is they did not have the resources to stay out. That's the reason the heart of America really sympathizes with the combinations

of labour; that's the only way they are going to prosper in what is a selfish game.

Now, what is really the source of wages? Here I want to say explicitly that I sit at the feet of men like Mr. Redfield, who pay wages, who have handled the matter, and who know what they are talking about. Though the political economists say the same things, they don't say them in the terms of specific instance the way these gentlemen say them. Wages come from the intelligence and energy of the workingmen, made effective by the presence of natural resources and their management by efficient managers. That's where wages come from. For example, we talk about American labourers competing with the pauper labour of Europe. I heard that only last night, and I thought I was in a dream. It sounded medieval. Haven't you known a machine that cost \$500 to compete successfully with a machine that cost \$50? That did the same work? Haven't you known instances where it was profitable, economically profitable, to pay \$500 rather than \$50 for a machine, because the machine did so much more and better work that the \$500 machine was cheaper than the \$50 machine? Isn't that true? Do we protect expensive American machinery against European pauper machinery? What do Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans—not Germans, now, because they have put their unmatched studiousness onto this job—but what do Englishmen in some continental countries do? They send for Americans as experts to tell them how they can make more out of their industrial plants, and what they are told in almost every instance is that they will have to put their pauper machinery on the junk heap. Isn't the analogy perfect? I don't see any fault in it. If they imported American machines and American labourers they would also have to import the superintendents who know how to organize labour. The high cost of production is, almost in every instance, due not to high wages but to the loss and waste in respect of bad man-

agement, poor machinery, or locating your whole plant in such a way that it is not in proximity to railroads and the other things necessary to the markets of the country. If you put your factory in the right way, organize it right, put right machinery in, and then get the highest priced labour, you will find that you will make your profits, because in proportion as you improve the economic efficiency of your business your profits will be greater. You need more intelligent labourers, and you cannot get them except at a higher price. To my mind that's rudimentary, but there are gentlemen who have never heard of it. There are manufacturers upon whom that idea has never dawned, and they may not believe it. I give their intelligence the benefit of the doubt. They will tell you that the American manufacturer has to be protected because he has to pay his labourers so much, and they will tell the labourers that protection is going to increase his wages; and now the labourer is finding out that they do not increase his wages and that there is something the matter with the working of the machinery.

That leads me to the most beautiful theory of all—the theory of the cost of production. It took the Republican party a long time to be absolutely frank in disclosing their ignorance of political economy. They were not perfectly frank until the last campaign, and then they said they wanted to proportion protection—proportion the rate of duty to the difference in the cost of production between American factories and the factories with which they had come into competition abroad. I wonder if those gentlemen wrote that plank with a straight face? I don't see how it was possible unless they employed some one who didn't know anything about it. The difference between whom? You say between the foreign manufacturer and the domestic manufacturer. Which foreign manufacturer and which domestic manufacturer? Where is your standard in the difference in cost of production? Suppose you

wanted to find differences that, as the Tariff Commission suggests, are average differences? An average is a variable thing. It might accidentally hit somebody, but I doubt whether it would hit many of us. If reduced it might not hit persons over 40 years of age, and if you are going to protect men under 40 what would the poor devils do over 40? They are in more need of protection than the others. The men under 40 years of age can take care of themselves, and if you are really going to do the fatherly and generous thing you propose in the theory of protection, you will take care of the least efficient. They are the ones who need looking after. If you reduce it to an average then you leave out the most helpless of the lot—the men who don't know how to organize their business, who don't know how to use their expensive labourers, who don't know how to use or assemble their expensive machinery or utilize the markets in an intelligent fashion. They are the men toward whom I feel a considerable degree of generosity, and if I was a protectionist I would go the limit and protect the least efficient, and frankly I do not see where you are going to succeed on any other basis. If you protect the least efficient you are going to protect absolutely everybody, and you have reached the ultimate goal of that kind of government—a government that is taking care of everybody and everybody is assured a reasonable profit. Is not that a very *reductio ad absurdum*? Otherwise, let us see. We are going to protect the most efficient who know how to do business and who use their resources when needed, to regulate it. You will protect only the trusts; that is to say, if their own account of the matter is to be accepted, because the trusts are defended by great combinations to bring about the high degree of efficiency caused by protection. I do not believe it. I believe there is a point in combination beyond which the economy is lost and there is a very great loss and waste. It is like the law of diminishing returns in agriculture. Up to a certain point an

addition of fertilizers, an addition of workingmen, and additional work on the farm will bring increasing returns, but you reach a limit where you have got too much fertilizer on it and too many men. Then your returns begin to diminish, and there is the same law in industrial combinations. Then let us see: We are going to take those industrial combinations which have reached that highest point of efficiency and protect only them. They are the only fellows who can afford to sell anywhere in the world. Why be benevolent to the self-supporting? It is like reserving your charity and conferring it only on millionaires. These are the gentlemen who know how to run the world, and do run a considerable part of it, and they are going to be protected! Turn any way you please, gentlemen, it is a will-o'-the-wisp.

Nobody deserves more sympathy than the honest gentlemen who construe the tariff question, because they are put upon this impossible quest to find the cost of production. There is not the same cost of production between any two factories unless they absolutely match each other. Then, there is not the same cost of production in the several parts of the same combination. Now you notice how the combinations meet that matter of the cost of production. Let us see: Where there are 20 mills or factories and a combination is effected they put those various properties into the combination at, let us say, a reasonable figure; that is not generally so, but we will admit it. They then put them in at the real figure of their value. I won't go on to the next step, because that is painful. They then double the whole business with a lot of manipulation, which is a delicate matter, but suppose they went no further than that and put them in at what they are really worth? Then they shut up 5 or 6 of them because, compared with the rest, they are operated at a loss, and put out stocks and bonds on the face of those shut up, as well as on the basis of the other 14, and we go on paying inter-

est on what it cost to shut those 6 up. They have eliminated those 5 or 6, but so far as the consumer is concerned they go on as ghostly mills that work while you sleep and you keep paying the price.

Now, the Nation could just as well afford to do that as what it is doing now. I would rather have the credit of American efficiency, shut up the inefficient factories, and continue to pay out of the Public Treasury a reasonable profit. I say I would rather do that than go on letting the inefficient work and go on assuring them a reasonable profit. The newly discovered ground is quicksand, and I advise the Republican party to move off before it disappears. They will certainly be engulfed if they stand on that theory long enough. This cost of production has no stability anywhere in it. It is a constant flux and, as Mr. Redfield has somewhere said, a disgrace to any concern if it is not a constantly changed quantity. The cost of production ought to be constantly reduced in a business that is making profit. It ought not to stand in the same place for 2 of 12 months.

Now, what is the conclusion of the whole matter? There are three conclusions. In the first place, we have been doing this thing at a tremendous economic disturbance, artificially changing our whole plans of society, and I fear we will go on doing it at an enormous waste. Has this country really husbanded and used its resources properly? Hasn't it used them in a way disgracefully wasteful? Haven't we stopped working a mine the minute it began to be difficult to work? Haven't we stopped using them the minute our native virgin properties seemed difficult to manipulate? Haven't we left scrap heaps everywhere? Haven't we left off taking care of our forests, the splendid trees, ripping and tearing everywhere we have gone? Hasn't our progress been marked by scenes of devastation? Nothing looked to, nothing saved, nothing utilized to the utmost, though we did not have to utilize it to the utmost. The Government has made everybody pay this bill of wastefulness,

and we have even gone to the extent of paying bills of the next generations. Don't you know the combinations bought up mines they do not intend to use while we are still alive, and we are paying the interest on what it cost them to buy those mines which the next generation is going to use? Isn't there an enormous economic waste when every generation must not alone pay its own bills, but the next generation's bills? The whole thing is an extravagant mirage of philanthropy, and this economic waste has bred in us something that is contrary to our trade genius; a sort of indulgence of looseness, a method of imperfection.

In the second place, we have got ourselves in the habit of legislating for the few instead of for the many on an interesting theory that I am very fond of explaining:

The theory of the Republican party has been if a few prosper all will be given a share of their prosperity; if you make the great captains of industry rich, they will make the country rich. It isn't so; but we have been foolish enough to believe it sometimes. We have been foolish enough to settle national elections on the belief that it was so. We believed that factories would be shut up and some thousands of poor devils sent out of employment and that symptoms of distress would be established, when there was no genuine necessity for distress at all. Oh, the greed of these men, the indulgence, the eternal indulgence of selfishness! They will say you have paid the bills for us and for our fathers, and you have got to pay them again or we will know the reason why. I don't feel any bitterness about this, gentlemen; all that is buried; but it is the fact that we should have been so put upon; that we should have been so innocent as to believe the incredible—which we could demonstrate as untrue if we only took the pains and looked into the facts—what the consumers knew to be untrue at the very time they were patiently casting Republican ballots and made believe they thought it wise;

this putting the advantages of legislation in the hands of the few at the constant sacrifice of the many; and the dream of America has been reversed to a Government for the privileged few and not for the many.

There is a quotation which we have been applauding nearly every Fourth of July, as I remember, but which we have not believed since I can remember. We have applied that quotation from the Virginia bill of rights and from one of Washington's addresses, in which he lays it down as a fundamental conception of American affairs that when the people deem their Government is not serving their interests they have a right to resume it into their own hands. Haven't you heard that before, and haven't you applied it? Well, do you believe it? America has not acted upon that in my lifetime. That belief is merely intended to be engraved in golden letters upon some tablet of our memories and enshrined as a fragrant recollection.

Now, there is another thing that this has done—and I am ashamed to see how long I have spoken—it has reversed all our natural conceptions of government. The worst feature of protection is the demoralization of our political ideas. We have based government upon patronage and privilege instead of upon justice and equality. That's the cancer that eats at the hearts of all.

Now, what are we going to do? Are we going to turn revolutionists? Are we going to act as free traders? I wish I might hope that our grandchildren could indulge in free trade, but I am afraid even they cannot, because they have to pay the bills of the Federal Government. We have a Federal system of government, and it is wise, it is good housekeeping, it is good management to leave direct taxes, for the most part, to the State governments, because they have current bills to pay. It is likely that for an indefinite period we shall have to pay our national bills by duties collected at the

ports. Though I am not for drastic changes, yet I wish I saw some ultimate escape from it. At present I do not. Therefore, what we have to ask ourselves is not the principle upon which we are to act, for that is plain. We are to act upon the fundamental principle of the Democratic party—not free trade, but tariff for revenue—and we have got to approach that by such avenues, by such stages, and at such a pace as will be consistent with the stability and safety of the business of the country. Fortunately there are some things that are plain. The very wide-awake gentlemen who constitute the Democratic majority in the lower House of Congress saw the opening in the line and carried the ball through. They saw the schedules upon which it was safe to act, and unanimously agreed that it was safe and wise to act now, which they did; and now they may have to act again to the same effect, because all excuses, so far as I can see, for any coöperation are swept away. Many excuses were offered. The cover of the tariff bill was an excellent cover while it lasted, but the Tariff Board has uncovered the defense, and now there are certain schedules upon which our minds are fixed, with a sufficient illumination of the facts and conditions to enable us to act upon them. We can act upon them, and, feeling our way prudently here and there, not like doctrinaires, but like practical and prudent men, we can by prudent stages bring this tariff down to our children on a proper tariff basis. That's a plain programme. It is a practical man's programme. It is not a theoretical programme; it is not a programme based upon a desire to get even with anyone; it is not a programme based upon the patience that special privilege has exhausted; it is merely an open-minded, prudent, statesmanlike course of action.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon undertaking this campaign of education, not of agitation; of demonstration, not of abuse; a campaign where the facts will

be more eloquent than figures of speech, and where back of the whole thing will lie that natural impulse of public service upon which alone a permanent national policy can be founded.

JACKSON DAY DINNER ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, JANUARY 8, 1912. FROM
"THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D
SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, PP. 4745-4747.

MR. TOASTMASTER and fellow Democrats, we are met to celebrate an achievement. It is an interesting circumstance that principles have no anniversaries. Only the men who embody principles are celebrated upon occasions like this and only the events to which their concerted action gave rise excite our enthusiasm. You know that the principles of the Democratic party are professed by practically the whole population of the United States. The test of a Democrat is whether he lives up to those principles or not. I have no doubt there are some people in the United States who covertly question the doctrines of Democracy, but nobody challenges them openly. It goes without saying, therefore, that we have not come together merely to state the abstract principles of our party. We have come together to take counsel as to how it is possible, by courageous and concerted action, to translate them into policy and law. The Democratic party has had a long period of disappointment and defeat and I think that we can point out the reason. We do not live in simple times. We live in very conflicting times indeed. No man can be certain that he can say how to weave the threads of Democratic principle throughout all the complicated garment of our civilization, and the reason that the Democratic party has had this period of successive disturbance is that it has been divided into groups just as it was as to the method of fulfilling the principles.

We have differed as to measures; it has taken us six-

teen years and more to come to any comprehension of our community of thought in regard to what we ought to do. What I want to say is that one of the most striking things in recent years is that with all the rise and fall of particular ideas, with all the ebb and flow of particular proposals, there has been one interesting fixed point in the history of the Democratic party, and that fixed point has been the character and the devotion and the preachings of William Jennings Bryan.

I, for my part, never want to forget this: That while we have differed with Mr. Bryan upon this occasion and upon that in regard to the specific things to be done, he has gone serenely on pointing out to a more and more convinced people what it was that was the matter. He has had the steadfast vision all along of what it was that was the matter and he has, not any more than Andrew Jackson did, not based his career upon calculation, but has based it upon principle.

Now, what has been the matter? The matter has been that the Government of this country was privately controlled and that the business of this country was privately controlled; that we did not have genuine representative government and that the people of this country did not have the control of their own affairs.

What do we stand for here to-night and what shall we stand for as long as we live? We stand for setting the Government of this country free and the business of this country free. The facts have been disputed by a good many sections of the Democratic party for the last half generation, but they were not clearly recognized.

I make the assertion that the Government was privately controlled. I mean to put it specifically that the Government of this country was managed by politicians who gained the contributions which they used by solicitation from particular groups of business interests, on the understanding, explicit or implied, that the first care of the Government was to be for those particular

interests. I am not questioning either the integrity or patriotism of the men concerned. I have no right to. In most instances they were of that old belief, cropping up again and again in America, that the people of this country are not capable of perceiving their own interest and of managing their own affairs; that they have not the contact with large affairs; that they have not the variety of experience which qualifies them to take charge of their own affairs. It is the old Hamiltonian doctrine that those who have the biggest asset in the Government should be the trustees for the rest of us; that the men who conduct the biggest business transactions are the only men who should stand upon an elevation sufficient to see the whole range of our affairs, and that if we will but follow their leadership we may share in their prosperity. That is the Republican doctrine, and I am perfectly willing, as a tribute to their honesty though not to their intelligence, to admit that they really believe it; that they really believe it is unsafe to trust such delicate matters as the complicated business of this country to the general judgment of the country. They believe only a very small coterie of gentlemen are to be trusted with the conduct of large affairs. There was a long period in New Jersey, for example, in which no commissioner of insurance was ever chosen without first consulting or getting the consent of the head of the largest insurance company in the State, and I am willing to admit, at any rate for the sake of argument, that it was supposed he, better than anyone else, knew who was qualified for the job. He did know who was qualified for the job and he had the proper point of view in demonstrating that it was mainly for the benefit of the big interests.

Now, the other thing that has been privately controlled in this country is the business of the country. I do not mean that each man's particular business ought not to be privately controlled, but I mean that the great business transactions of this country are privately con-

trolled by gentlemen whom I can name and whom I will name, if it is desired; men of great dignity of character; men, as I believe, of great purity of purpose, but men who have concentrated, in their own hands, transactions which they are not willing to have the rest of the country interfere with.

Now, the real difficulty in the United States, gentlemen, it seems to me, is not the existence of great individual combinations—that is dangerous enough in all countries—but the real danger is the combination of the combinations, the real danger is that the same groups of men control chains of banks, systems of railways, whole manufacturing enterprises, great mining projects, great enterprises for the developing of the natural water power of this country, and that threaded together in the personnel of a series of boards of directors is a community of interest more formidable than any conceivable combination in the United States.

It has been said that you cannot “unscramble eggs,” and I am perfectly willing to admit it, but I can see in all cases before they are scrambled that they are not put in the same basket and entrusted to the same groups of persons.

What we have got to do—and it is a colossal task—a task not to be undertaken with a light head or without judgment—but what we have got to do is to disentangle this colossal community of interest. No matter how we may purpose dealing with a single combination in restraint of trade, you will agree with me in this that I think no combination is big enough for the United States to be afraid of; and when all the combinations are combined and this combination is not disclosed by any process of incorporation or law, but is merely the identity of personnel, then there is something for the law to pull apart, and gently, but firmly and persistently dissect.

You know that the chemist distinguishes between a chemical combination and an amalgam. A chemical com-

bination has done something which I cannot scientifically describe, but its molecules have become intimate with one another and practically united, whereas an amalgam has a mere physical union created by pressure from without. Now, you can destroy that mere physical contact without hurting the individual elements, and you can break up this community of interest without hurting any one of the single interests combined; not that I am particularly delicate of some of the interests combined—I am not under bonds to be unusually polite, but I am interested in the business of this country, and believe its integrity depends upon this dissection. I do not believe any one group of men has vision enough or genius enough to determine what the development of opportunity and the accomplishments by achievement shall be in this country. You cannot establish competition by law, but you can take away the obstacles by law that stand in the way of competition, and while we may despair of setting up competition among individual persons there is good ground for setting up competition between these great combinations, and after we have got them competing with one another they will come to their senses in so many respects that we can afterwards hold conference with them without losing our self-respect.

Now, that is the job. That is the thing that exists, and the thing that has to be changed, not in any spirit of revolution and not with the thought—for it would be a deeply unjust thought—that the business men of this country have put up any job on the Government of this country. Take even that colossal job known as the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The business men of this country did not put up that job. Some of the business men of this country did, but by no means all of them. Think what that means. Do you mean to say that the commercial men of this country are interested in maintaining the integrity of that bill? Some, and only some, of the manufacturers of this country have put up that

job on us, and many of them have been the unwilling beneficiaries of a system which they knew did not minister to the prosperity of their undertakings.

I am not going to make a tariff speech. It is so easy to knock holes in the present tariff there is no sport in it. I am a humane man. I would not jump on a thing like that, but I do want to point out to you that the ownership of Government—it is a harsh word to use, but I am not using it harshly. I am using it for shorthand—the ownership of the Government of the United States, by special groups of interests, centres in the tariff, and that is where the difference comes in. I have heard men say that politicians interfered too much with business. I want to say that business men interfere too much with politics. Do the statesmen of this country go to the Ways and Means Committee and the Finance Committee and beg for these favours? You know that they do not. Some Congressmen go to these committees and plead that some gentlemen back in their constituencies are pressing them hard on bills, and as public men, plead for individual interests, and their entrance into politics has been so by those who intended to control the schedules of the tariff.

I once heard a very distinguished Member of Congress give this illustration: He was talking about a great campaign fund that had been collected. It was the paltry sum of \$400,000. It was a great sum for that somewhat primitive day, and it was pointed out at the time—at any rate specified—that most of this money had been contributed by manufacturers who were the chief beneficiaries of the tariff, and those gentlemen pointed out that they certainly would want to get their money back. I may not be saying the thing properly, but it is simply this:

Down where I live we get most of our water from pumps, and a pump, as you know, may go dry overnight, and a prudent housekeeper will pump up a bucket of water at night before she goes to bed and leave it stand-

ing. Then, in the morning if the plunger will not suck she pours in that water, and that expands the plunger and it begins sending the pump water out; and the first water that comes out is the same water she poured in. By that I mean, gentlemen, that this \$400,000 was ordered poured in to make the old pump suck, and you know that that homely illustration is fair. That is what is done and that is the way the control of Government comes in.

Well, what are we going to do? I have a practical mind, and am not interested particularly in the too long-winded discussion of the principles upon which we are going to act. Neither am I wise enough to propose a comprehensive programme. I think the rule of Donnybrook Fair is good enough for me: "Hit the heads you see." Make sure before that your shillalahs are made of good Irish hickory. By that I mean this: Lop off the special favors whenever you are certain you have identified them; lop them off. That is a pretty good rule. You do not need to be all-wise to do that. Paint some of those favours so conspicuously that all can see them. If you do not know which they are, ask the first man you meet on the street and he will tell you. He will give you a list that will keep you busy all winter. And I might add this, if you please, not to go at them haphazard, but to go steadily through the things that have become obvious excrescences and cut them off. That is a very definite programme, and, then, I might add, go into an absolutely thorough investigation of the way it may best be conducted, find out just where, in dissecting, the scalpel can be introduced, and divorce these artificial unions, because I know that you will not be cutting living tissue.

I hear a great deal of talk about conservatism and radicalism. Now, what makes a man shiver when he hears a statement of the facts concerning it? He feels it is cold-blooded and indiscreet to state the facts, and yet he really is inclined, I must say, to think there is

something in it. He says to himself, this man must be a radical, because if he sees the thing that way, what in God's name is he going to do, because, if he is going to go to work to thoroughly change those facts there is no telling where he will stop. Now, it is just there that he ought to stop being radical. If the prudent surgeon wants to save the patient he has got absolutely to know the naked anatomy of the man. He has got to know what is under his skin and in his intestines; he has got to be absolutely indecent in his scrutiny. And then he has got to say to himself: "I know where the seat of life is; I know where my knife should penetrate; I dare not go too far for fear it should touch the fountain of vitality. In order to save this beautiful thing I must cut deep, but I must cut carefully; I must cut out the things that are decayed and rotten, the things that manifest disease, and I must leave every honest, wholesome tissue absolutely untouched." A capital operation may be radical, but it is also conservative. There cannot be life without the cutting out of the dead and decayed tissue.

And, as to business, after a few committees like the Stanley committee have gone on a little longer we will know a good many particulars, and we will be versed in this high-finance business ourselves. These things are coming out with astonishing candour. We now know how to regulate prices. We know how to run combinations by circulars that convey intimations and instructions. We see the little artificial threads that bind these things together, threads which do not themselves contain the life, but which themselves do control the vessels in which the life blood runs. And so stage by stage we shall learn what the practical business of a Democrat is. It is to go to the root of the matter, seek out the processes of cure and restoration and rehabilitation. What a travesty it is upon the name of Democracy to see any Democrat who wishes to destroy the very thing that his principles should make him in love with, namely,

the life of the people themselves. A very thoughtful preacher pointed out the other day that one of the first quotations in our Lord's Prayer is, "Give us this day our daily bread," which would seem, perhaps, to indicate that our Lord knew what every statesman must know, that the spiritual life of the Nation cannot exist unless it has physical life; that you cannot be an altruist and patriot on an empty stomach. Nothing shows the utter incapacity of a man to be a Democrat so much as his incapacity to understand what we are after. He does not know that the very seeds of life are in the principles and confidence and lives and virtues of the people of this country, and so when we strike at the trusts, or, rather, I will not say strike at the trusts, because we are not slashing about us—when we move against the trusts, when we undertake the strategy which is going to be necessary to overcome and destroy monopoly, we are rescuing the business of this country, we are not injuring it, and when we separate the interests from each other and disconnect these communities of connection we have in mind a greater community of interest, a vaster community of interest, the community of interest that binds the virtues of all men together, that mankind which is broad and catholic enough to take under the sweep of its comprehension all sorts and conditions of men, and that vision which sees that no society is renewed from the top and every society is renewed from the bottom. Limit opportunity, restrict the field of originaive achievement, and you have cut out the heart and root of the prosperity of the country itself.

The only thing that can ever make a free country is to keep a free and hopeful heart under every jacket in it, and then there will be an irrepressible vitality, then there will be an irrepressible ideal which will enable us to be Democrats of the sort that when we die we shall look back and say: "Yes; from time to time we differed with each other as to what ought to be done, but, after all, we followed the same vision, after all we worked

slowly, stumbling through dark and doubtful passages onward to a common purpose and a common ideal." Let us apologize to each other that we ever suspected or antagonized one another; let us join hands once more all around the great circle of community of counsel and of interest which will show us at the last to have been indeed the friends of our country and the friends of mankind.

EFFICIENCY

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT A BANQUET OF THE REAL ESTATE MEN OF BOSTON AT THE CITY CLUB, JANUARY 27, 1912. INTRODUCED BY RICHARD OLNEY, SECRETARY OF STATE DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND. FROM "THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, APPENDIX, 495-497.

MR. PRESIDENT, your excellency, your honour, gentlemen of the real estate exchange: I am not going to talk about politics. I am simply going to discuss public questions. And there is a difference, a very great difference, between discussing politics and talking about public questions. Indeed, it is very difficult to talk politics in America now, because you cannot be certain where any man you are talking to belongs.

There is what a football man would call a very broken field, and it is almost impossible to classify men any longer in America, at any rate, after you get them out of the field of their own businesses.

You cannot classify a man about other things until you have talked to him for a long time; and it is incredible that a thoughtful man in this State should really be a standpatter, because the penalty of being such is that the whole of your generation and your civilization will run away from you if you don't move with it.

The theme of my thought as I came here to-night is that we are not at the beginning of a new age, not at its immediate beginning, but near its beginning, and that everything, whether we wish it to do so or not, wears a new aspect for us. Almost every question which it is imperatively necessary we should consider and discuss

is, if not a new question, now developed in such a new aspect for America that we must treat it as if it were a new question.

For example, it seems to me that the most pressing thing in America is the question of conservation, not merely the conservation of so much as remains of our unwasted resources—I do not mean the mere renewal of our forests; I do not mean mere preservation and a more economical use of our water power—I mean the preservation of our energies and of the genius of our people.

Questions of sanitation to me are questions of conservation; questions of morals are questions of conservation. You cannot conserve the energy of America unless you give to its exercise the proper moral environment. You cannot get the best work out of your workmen unless you make them by honest operations to believe that you regard them, not as your tools, but as your partners; and the whole conservation of America is a question of the supremacy of America, of her right thinking, and of her righteous action. We owe it to future generations that we should not waste or destroy our resources, and we owe it still more to future generations that we should not lower the vitality of our workingwomen, check the vitality of our children, demoralize the processes of our life at any point. And yet how long is it since America troubled herself with questions of conservation? How long is it since we felt in the heyday of thoughtless youth, with so much youth at our hands, that we did not have to be careful in the economy of it; and how constantly did we rejoice that we had put ourselves in a position to be wasteful.

Almost every time public questions are discussed in this day somebody asks the question: "What is the leading question of the approaching political campaign?" Now, I don't know what is the leading question, but I know what is the central question, or at least

I think I do, because I find that every road leads to that question, and that is the question of the tariff. The question of conservation leads straight to that same radical origin, to this road of the tariff, because by protecting ourselves from foreign competition—from the skill and energy and resourcefulness of other nations—we have felt ourselves at liberty to be wasteful in our own processes. I believe that it is one of the most serious consequences of the protective tariff that it has made it unnecessary that we should be careful and saving in our own industrial enterprises. I am going to return to that presently, but for the time being let me point out simply this: That behind the wall of our tariff we can afford to pay for business that we are not doing.

What I mean is this: Take almost any modern combination. Suppose that 20 factories are drawn together in a single organization. These 20 factories are not all of them similarly equipped for efficiency and economy of action, and it constantly happens that after the necessary money is put into the capitalization for the union of those factories under a single organization a number of them are put out of operation rather than brought up to the highest point of efficiency and thereafter are carried as dead enterprises. Now, you could not afford to do that if you had to make every part most efficient in action. You could not afford to carry cold furnaces; you could not afford to carry silent looms; you could not afford to put up shutters and make people to whom you sell your goods pay for what you paid to put up the shutters.

We can afford to carry dead business in this country because we have not exposed ourselves to universal competition with live business. And so, finding it possible to do things of that sort, we have gone further—we are paying for things we have not yet used.

There are combinations in this country, for example, in which men have bought mines which they have never opened and which they are carrying, and probably will

carry, until the next generation, while we pay the piper. They don't want anybody else to use the mines, and we are paying for what the next generation will use.

Have you realized the loads, the dead weights, that American business is carrying? You may not have analyzed it in this way, but whether you have analyzed it in this way or not, the price we are paying for manufactured goods in this country tells the tale of what we have been trying to do. And when we swing our thought back to the question of conservation we see nothing less than this: that now we have got to the point where we have got to do something very different, because the question of trade is a new question in this country.

I have no doubt that the explanations which Gen. Bancroft offers for the falling off in the export business of Boston is one of the explanations for that decrease nationally. I have no doubt that the differential rate in favour of Baltimore has a great deal to do with it, but there is something else that has to do with it.

Have you looked at the general course of the export trade in this country? Don't you know that the export of grain is steadily going down from natural causes? We used to produce so much more grain than we needed ourselves that we could afford to export enough to feed the greater part of the rest of the world.

But with the increase in our population at a greater rate than the productivity of our soil—or, rather, the use of our soil after the productive fashion—the exports of grain are falling because we need more of it ourselves, and during the same period when this has become marked our exports of manufactured articles have been increasing almost in spite of us by leaps and bounds.

While we have been producing less and less grain in proportion to our power of consumption, we have been producing more and more manufactured goods in proportion to our power of consumption, until now we

have a surplus of manufactured goods of which we must get rid or else do an unprofitable business.

At this point we discover that we have done something very singular, considering we are Americans. In the first place, by processes which you know just as well as I do, we destroyed our commercial marine.

I am not going to try to distribute the blame or to consider whether the measures which produced this effect were well considered at the outset or not. We can afford to be indifferent as to whether they were or not, because we are considering the present or future.

The point is now that you are more likely to see the flag of the little Kingdom of Greece on the seas than the flag of the United States. History shows, and this particular part of the country will bear witness to the statement, that whereas we were once noted as the common carriers of the Atlantic, whereas we once furnished the seamen and ships for a very considerable proportion of the commerce of the ocean, we have, for one reason or another, lost that carrying trade, and you also know, if you are merchants, that the nation which carries the world's goods can generally see to it that its merchants get the markets.

When we need markets, therefore, now that we are needing them, we have not the hands by which to reach out and take them. Our merchant seamen are gone. Our ships have disappeared from the sea, our registry lists are short and insignificant, and by the same token, while we had surrounded ourselves with this wall of the tariff and were rejoicing in the great area of free trade which we could enjoy in America under our own vine and fig tree, we were becoming ignorant of the markets of the world.

Where are the great East Indian merchants who used to have offices in Boston? Where are those men who understood the tastes and the needs of the ends of the earth? Where are the men who knew exactly

what to send to India in order to exchange for what India could send to us to satisfy our tastes and needs?

The great trading nations of the world are not those who understand only domestic needs and tastes. They are those who understand the foreign needs and tastes. I heard it quoted from a great cotton manufacturer to-day that if we only had 200,000,000 instead of 100,000,000 people in this country we would have enough people to take up the full capacity of the cotton factories of the United States.

Well, lacking the additional hundred million, what are we going to do with our surplus goods? We have got to do something we do not know how to do now to make cotton goods of the kind and pattern that are salable in all quarters of the world, and then to place them there.

But the tariff has made this extremely difficult, and at the same time we are preparing transformations for ourselves. What is the completion of that great ditch now being dug through the Isthmus going to mean to some of the Atlantic seaports? When you take the differential off which will even things between you and Baltimore, how are you going to see your way out—how are you going to prevent the great blood of the economic life of the Nation from running down the Mississippi Valley? Where are you going to be when the arteries run north and south instead of east and west?

And after you have got your dock frontage, how are you going to bring the ships of the world here if the currents of trade are shifting, shifting, shifting in spite of you?

Stand pat when the world is changing? Sit still when everything is altering, whether you want it to alter or not? Tell your politicians to let you alone to the enjoyment of your false security when you are not secured at all? When the world itself is being trans-

formed, will you refuse yourselves to alter your thinking?

There is no such lack of intelligence in this great city of Boston as to dream of the possibility of an inconceivable thing like that. You have got, in order to relieve the plethora, in order to use the energy of the capital of America, to break the chrysalis that we have been in. We have bound ourselves hand and foot in a smug domestic helplessness by this jacket of a tariff we have wound around us. [Applause.] We are not about to change the tariff because men in this country have changed their theories about the tariff. We are going to change it because the conditions of America are going to burst through it and are now bursting through it.

You cannot fight a Spanish war and join the family of nations in international affairs and still keep your gaze directed inward upon yourself, because along with the singular change that came upon us, that notably altered or affected the very character of our Government, the Nation itself began to be a different thing. Have you ever thought of the history of our Government, of the history of the Executive part of it? Do you not know that down to the period when we began to shut our doors tight against foreign commercial intercourse the Executive was the most important part of the Government of the United States, and then we went through a long period when, except for the civil war when there was concentrated energy to be found, the Executive counted for almost nothing and the Congress for almost everything, because every question was a neighbourhood question? It was our own. We had not any national spokesman such as the Executive is prepared to serve us. And then came the Spanish war, and since then do you think it is a question that the Executive has again become a conspicuous part of this Government? So soon as a nation must act you must have a body through which it can act. So soon as it

becomes a single will you have to have a lodgment for the guiding intelligence, a single will in every nation that is important in international relations—a strong guiding Executive—not because it deliberately chooses to have it, but because it has no choice—it must have it. And so while we have waited and drifted in altruistic fashion into a war for the sake of the Cubans, we altered the centre of gravity of our Government. Will we never learn this fact: that you do not make governments by theories? You accommodate theories to the circumstances. Theories are generalizations from the facts. The facts do not spring out of theories. If they did we would have a very symmetrically ordered series of facts, but the facts break in and ignore the theories—contemptuously smash the theories—and as our life is, as our thought is, so will our Government be.

Very well; our thoughts are concentrated upon ourselves. Now, we are changing our point of view and looking abroad upon the face of the earth, seeking to allow ourselves an outline into the general field of competition, which includes the whole round globe. In the meantime what have we done? Do you really think that the tariff has produced efficiency? Do you believe that combinations, most of which have been made possible by the tariff, have had as their chief effect efficiency and economy? Every tyro knows that, up to a certain point, combination produces economy. But it does not necessarily produce efficiency. That depends upon who runs the combination and on the amount of brains invested, not on the amount of capital pooled; and after you have got your combination, what do you do with it? I do not mean what you say you do with it in public discussions. What do you actually do with it? You have only to ask to look into the testimony before the Stanley committee; you have only to look into the testimony in the trial of the meat packers; you have only to look in the public records to find what is done with some combinations. There are private understandings

with regard to prices. Everybody knows that, and that the penalty of not observing those prices and keeping to them is to be put out of the combination, and it looks—I will not make this an assertion, but I will venture to say—as if the object of some combinations was the prices, not the efficiency, not economy, but the avoiding of the very things that make economy and efficiency absolutely imperative. I do not have to be efficient over and above the point that the men I am in competition with makes it necessary that I should be efficient. If I know enough to know more than the fellow that I am competing with I do not have to increase my knowledge. If I understand the game well enough to checkmate him I do not have to understand it any better, and if I can enter into an understanding with him I do not have to understand it at all. [Laughter.] So that my conviction is—and I think that the admission of every candid mind will be—that in recent decades we have been decreasing our efficiency.

There is only one thing upon which efficiency depends, and that is the whole thing. You cannot get efficiency out of your workmen if you overdrive them, any more than you can get it out of your machines if you overdrive them. Did you ever notice how much more tender and considerate of their machines some American manufacturers are than they are of the human beings they employ? Do not you know that every thoughtful manufacturer studies what his machinery will bear, and he will dismiss an employee who puts more on that machine than it can bear or than he ought to put on it? Very well; does he dismiss the same superintendent who puts more on the human muscle and spirit than it can bear? Not often. When you find a manufacturer who is considerate of the strain on his men and who makes them feel that he is taking as much care of them as of his machinery you find the most efficient establishment in the trade. [Applause.]

Would it not be a good idea to draw your cost sheets

after a new fashion? Would it not be a good idea to have a cost sheet to show the strain put upon the men in every respect—not merely the physical strain, but a sheet which would show the strain put on them by lack of ventilation in the factory, by the lack of opportunities of amusement, by the absence of the feeling on the part of the workmen that they are really regarded as essential partners in a mutual undertaking which makes every man just as eager to make the product good as his employer could possibly be? It would be a moral balance sheet of the whole industry of the Nation. Do not you see how I am traveling in a circle? It is a question of conservation. Conservation is a question of efficiency. Efficiency depends upon those finer economies which assemble all the elements of energy, and economy is simply another way of spelling the word honesty, thriftiness, getting out of every ton of coal every unit of energy that there is in it without waste, throwing nothing away, making profit out of everything, but particularly out of your relations with your fellow-men.

We have this question to answer, therefore, gentlemen, and this is the central question of all politics and it is a perfectly non-partisan question: What do you want, the economical adjustment, the moral adjustment, the physical adjustment which will produce these results, or do you want a fetish, called protection, behind which there will be waste, plus security? Do you really want to admit that you cannot make the American Nation more efficient than any other nation in the world?

The only reason that America is efficient is that American brains are capable of entering into any competition that you can conceive of. The central thing is that so long as we keep American life relatively what we intended it to be, we have only to import a workman who earns 30 cents a day on the other side of the water and find him in an employ earning \$2 a day on this side of the water. A man cannot change the dexterity of his fingers or his physical make-up in a month, but he

can change his point of view. He can catch the infection of the factory in which he works. He can recognize under the intelligent supervision of the superintendent that through his participation and because he has become a constituent part of the great throbbing American machine that we call civilization he can be an infinitely better workman than he is anywhere else.

When you want to cut down your working force, which of your workmen do you dismiss first? Those that get the smallest wages. You don't dismiss the high-priced men first. If you did you would dismiss the president and secretaries and superintendents, and you cannot get on without those who earn the larger salaries. You don't dismiss from the top, but from the bottom, which is your admission that the most economical labour you have is your highest-priced labour. That is what you cannot dispense with. It is high priced not because of the tariff. Oh, I wish I had time to explode that ancient myth. No thoughtful economist in the world knows so little as not to be able to explode it. Only business men who will not take the pains to become economists believe it, and some of them do not believe it.

A friend of mine who travels all over the world and sells a certain kind of American machine tells me he can sell \$350 machines in competition with an \$80 machine that does the same work because the \$350 machine is more economical, it produces more in a given time and better goods in a given time, yields more to the intelligence of those who use it in a given time than the \$80 machine, and the \$350 machine is cheaper, produces a smaller labour cost than the \$80 machine.

And the man who earns \$10 a day, if he really earns it, is cheaper to you than the \$1 a day man. And you can afford nothing so ill as to turn away from the idea, from the conception, that American labour is supreme because it is intelligent and not because it gets higher wages. That is a false reasoning; you are putting the

cart before the horse. American labour gets higher wages because it is more valuable. Now, any intelligent labour can compete with any pauper labour, and the intellectual absurdity of "protecting" intelligent men from unintelligent is too patent to need explanation. When I hear the reports that tell of protecting the American labourers that I know of against the pauper labour of Europe I can only smile that my fellow-voters are so gullible.

Now, gentlemen, you cannot afford to be narrow in the presence of change, and you cannot afford to think that your legislators and your executives are bringing change upon you. Neither can you afford to think that you can take no guiding part in the change. We are facing a new age, with new objects, new objects of American trade and manufacture, because the minute you begin to make models for foreign sale you have to change the machinery, the whole point of view. We are facing new objects with new standards, the standards of cosmopolitan intelligence instead of provincial intelligence, and with a new conception of what it means to produce wealth and produce prosperity. The prosperity of America has often been checked, but it has seldom been aided by legislation. I wonder how any man can keep the red corpuscles in his blood from getting up and shouting when he realizes the age that we are entering upon.

I was saying to-day to some of the fellows out at Harvard that I wished I had been born 20 years later, so that I could have had 20 years more of this exhilarating century upon which we have entered, a century which greets the challenge to originaive effort. This is no century for any man who looks over his shoulder; it is no century for any man who has no stomach for the facts that change even while he tries to digest them; a century in which America is to prove once more whether she has any right to claim leadership in the world of originaive politics and originaive economic

effort. This is a century just as worth living in as was the eighteenth century, better worth living in than was the nineteenth century.

When I hear men say that you are attacking American civilization by proposing, not rapid, but slow, steady—if necessary, organic—changes to meet the facts, I wonder what they think of when they look at the flag of the United States. The flag of the United States stands for the biggest kick on record.

The flag of the United States, in my imagination, consists of alternate strips of white parchment upon which are written the aspirations of men, and streams of blood poured out to verify their hope, and in the corner of that flag sparkle the stars of those States that have one after another swung into the firmament to show that there is a God in heaven, that men will not abandon hope so long as they have confidence in the God of righteousness, the God of justice, the God of liberty. [Loud applause.]

RICHMOND ADDRESS

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA AND THE CITY COUNCIL OF RICHMOND ON FEBRUARY 1, 1912. FROM "THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, PP. 3919-3922.

YOUR Excellency, Mr. Speaker, Your Honour, Gentlemen of the General Assembly of Virginia, and of the Council of the City of Richmond, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I face this great audience to-night with a mixture of emotions. I am glad to feel like a boy who has come home to report in some degree to his neighbours, not about myself, but about the things that I have seen, or tried to see clearly, happening in the great communities of which we constitute a part.

I am not going to hold the distinguished gentlemen who have introduced me responsible for the terms in which they have presented me to you. I am ready to believe, if anything should happen to me that is untoward, that they have uttered not a critical judgment, but have spoken according to the dictates of their hearts. They have been welcoming me home—they have not been telling you exactly what I am.

And yet, the voice of a friend melts the heart, and I, for my part, feel it very difficult here to-night to make an address from which the sentimental emotions that rise in me are left out. I have on my lapel a badge which, if I followed the dictates of good taste, perhaps I should not wear, for it bears my own name; but it was pinned on my coat by one of the delegation

from Staunton—my native place—(applause)—and I know that you will indulge me in the sentiment which has led me to leave it there, not as a token of egotism, but as a token of my appreciation of the welcome which has been extended me.

You have been told to-night that the eyes of the nation were centred upon me. I hope not. That is very awkward. (Laughter.) I do not like to believe that the eyes of the nation are centred upon me. I do like to believe that the thoughts of the nation are centred upon the great questions which I, among many others, have tried honestly and fearlessly to expound—(applause)—because we are just now seeking to show our devotion, not to persons, but to a cause—a fundamental cause, a cause to which the whole history of America has been a commendatory example.

I could not stand before this audience of my one-time neighbours—for there are a great many men behind me at any rate, if not in front of me, who have known me ever since I was a boy—and try to pose myself as an important figure. They would see through it. (Laughter.) I remember the story of an innocent old woman who went into the side-show of a circus and saw, or supposed that she saw, a man read a newspaper through a two-inch board. She got up in great excitement and said, "Here, let me out of here; this is no place for me to be with these thin things on." (Laughter and applause.) I fear that the disguise of greatness would be too transparent; and yet I do feel that every man should, who believes in the great ideals of this country and in their translation into action, stand up in every company and proclaim the faith that is in him, so that by common counsel and by common action we may achieve something for this great nation.

I have heard men complain of the changes of the times. I have heard men counsel that we stand still and do nothing. How futile the counsel is! Do you remember the quaint story of the Scottish highlander

who went into the market of Edinburgh, followed by his dog? He went to a fishmonger's stall and the dog incautiously dropped his tail into a basket of lobsters, and one of the lobsters nipped his tail. Whereupon the dog went yelping down the street, with the lobster bouncing after. The fishmonger said, "Hoot, mon: whussle to your dog!" "Hoot!" said the Scotchman, "whussle to your lobster." (Laughter and applause.)

Now if you think some of your leaders are going too fast a pace, don't whistle to them. Whistle to the spirit of the age. Whistle to the questions that have whipped their consciences and dominated their understandings. They cannot stop if they are going to keep up with the great transmutations of affairs. For, gentlemen, whether we have realized it or not, we have entered a new age, and I have comforted myself with the thought as I journeyed towards Virginia again, that Virginia had never been daunted by a new age; with however debonair and young and confident a genius, Virginia led a great nation and helped to create a great nation in a new age. (Applause.)

I have heard men say that it was un-American to criticise the institutions we are living under. I wonder if they remember the significance of the American flag—the first insurgent flag that was flung to the breeze—the flag that represented the most colossal "kick" that was ever taken in political transactions; a flag that I cannot look at without imagining that it consists of alternate strips of parchment upon which are written the fundamental rights of man, alternating with the streams of blood by which those rights had been vindicated and validated. (Applause.) In the blue sky of the corner there are swung star after star of commonwealths of free men who were setting up their own homes upon the principles of those vindicated rights.

Do you suppose that I will believe, or that any one knowing the history of America or the history of Virginia will believe, that it is inconsistent with being an

American and a Virginian to propose that you construct liberty for each successive age, and that if necessary you reconstruct liberty for each successive age? If I had happened to get that breath out of my lungs in my absence from the Old Dominion, it would enter them again as I came back to her. (Applause.) I have not lost it elsewhere. The handsome contagion has infected the whole of the great nation. Do not suppose that the people of New Jersey have not seen visions, and dreamed dreams. Some gentlemen in some initial quarters wanted to suppress the dreams. (Laughter and applause.) It made the sleep of some men, in some quarters, uneasy that they should be haunted by those visions, but they never went out of the thought or the sleepless eyes of those great multitudes of men for whom happiness depends upon freedom, for whom self-respect depends upon freedom and principle, and in New Jersey as everywhere else they have drunk of those fountains which first began to flow in Virginia, those fountains by which we constantly renew our youth, and devote ourselves generation after generation to the preservation of the institutions of America.

I want, if possible, to explain to this great body of thinking persons the age in which we live, as it seems to me to present itself. Why, ladies and gentlemen, in our age every question is new. Every question that faces America is just as new now as were the questions that faced America in 1776. I do not mean that we are upon the verge of a revolution. I do not mean that passion is stirring which will upset the ancient foundations of our political order; but I do mean that life has changed under our very eye, so that what we do will have to be adjusted to almost absolutely new conditions, and I want that you will bear with me to point out just what I mean.

You know that one of the great questions that faces this great country is the question of conservation. Now just what do you mean by conservation? Do you mean

the big thing, or do you mean the little thing? The little thing, though big in itself, but little by comparison, is the renewal of our forests, the protection of our great water powers against further depletion, the safeguarding of our mineral resources against waste and extravagance, the keeping in store as long as may be of those things which cannot be renewed, and may even within a generation, some of them, come to the point of exhaustion.

That is the question of conservation as most men discuss it; but is that all? It seems to me that the fundamental question of conservation in America is the conservation of the energy, the elasticity, the hope of the American people. (Applause.) I deal a great deal with friends, for I have had such friends all my life, who are engaged in manufacturing in this country, and almost every one of them will admit that while he studies his machinery, and will dismiss a man who overtaxes the machinery so that its bearings get heated, so that the stress of work is too much for it, so that it is racked and over-done, not a man of them dismisses a superintendent because he puts too great strain upon the souls and hearts of his employees. (Applause.) We rack and exhaust and reject the man machine, and we honestly, economically, thoughtfully preserve the steel machine; for we can get more men—we have only to beckon to them; the streets are full of them waiting for employment; but we cannot, without cost, get a new machine.

Now that kind of conservation is a great deal more than the question of overstraining the factories. If I knew my business and were a manufacturer, what would I do? I would create such conditions of sanitation, such conditions of life and comfort and health as would keep my employees in the best physical condition, and I would establish such a relationship with them as would make them believe that I was a fellow human being,

with a heart under my jacket, and that they were not my tools, but my partners.

Then you would see the gleam in the eye, then you would see that human energy spring into expression which is the only energy which differentiates America from the rest of the world. (Applause.) Men are used everywhere, men are driven under all climes and flags, but we have boasted in America that every man was a free unit of whom we had to be as careful as we would be of ourselves. America's economic supremacy depends upon the moral character and the resilient hopefulness of our workmen. So I say, when you are studying questions of conservation, realize what you have been wasting, the forests, water, minerals and the hearts and bodies of men. That is the new question of conservation. I say new, because only in our day has the crowding gotten so close and hot that there is no free outlet for men. Don't you remember that until the year 1890, every ten years when we took the census, we were able to draw a frontier in this country? It is true that in what is called the golden age, 1849, when gold was discovered in California, we sent outposts to the Pacific and settled the further slope of the Rocky Mountains. But between us and that slope, until 1890, there intervened an unoccupied space where the census map makers could draw a frontier. But when we reached the year 1890 there was no frontier discoverable in America.

What did that mean? That meant that men who found conditions intolerable in crowded America no longer had a place free where they could take up land of their own and start a new hope. That is what that meant, and as America turns upon herself her seething millions and the cauldron grows hotter and hotter, is it not the great duty of America to see that her men remain free and happy under the conditions that have now sprung up? It is true that we needed a frontier so much that after the Spanish war we annexed a new

frontier some seven thousand miles off in the Pacific. But that is a long cry, and it takes the energy of a very young man to seek that outlet in the somewhat depressing climate of the Philippines.

So we now realize that Americans are not free to release themselves. We have got to live together and be happy in the family. I remember an old judge who was absolutely opposed to divorce, because he said that a man will be restless as long as he knows he can get loose—(laughter)—but that so soon as it is firmly settled in his mind that he has got to make the best of it, he finds a sudden current of peace and contentment. Now there is no divorce for us in our American life. We have got to put up with one another, and we have got to see to it that we so regulate and assuage one another that we will not be intolerable to each other. We have got to get a *modus vivendi* in America for happiness, and that is our new problem. And I call you to witness it is a new problem. America never had to finish anything before; she has been at liberty to do the thing with a broad hand, quickly, improvise something and go on to the next thing; leave all sorts of waste behind her, push on, blaze trails through the forest, beat paths across the prairie. But now we have even to top and pave our streets, we are just finding that out. I suppose it was good for the digestion to bump over the old cobble stones, but it was not good for trade, and we have got to pull up the cobble stones and make real sidewalks that won't jolt the life out of us. Let these somewhat whimsical comparisons serve to illustrate what I am talking about.

Now there is another new thing in America, and that is trade. Will you laugh at me and say, "Why, America has been supreme in trade ever since she was created." Has she? We have traded with one another, but we have traded with nobody else in proportions worth mentioning. Yes, we have in grain, in the great food-stuffs, but do you know what is happening? Our food-

stuff exports, our grain exports are falling, falling, not because we produce less, but because we need more ourselves. We are getting nearer and nearer to the point where we will ourselves consume all that our farms produce. Then we will not have anything with which to pay our balance, will we? Yes, we will, because while our exports of grain have been falling, our exports of manufactured articles have been increasing by leaps and bounds.

But under what circumstances? Long ago, after we had forgotten the excellent things that the first generation of statesmen had done for us in America, we deliberately throttled the merchant marine of the United States, and now it is so completely throttled that you are more likely to see the flag of the little kingdom of Greece upon the seas than the flag of the United States. And you know that the Nation that wants foreign commerce must have the arms of commerce. If she has the ships, her sailors will see to it that her merchants have the markets. I am not arguing this to you, I am telling you, for the facts, if we look but a little ways for them, will absolutely demonstrate this circumstance, that we have more to fear in the competition of England, Germany and France, because of the multitude of English, French and German carriers upon the sea than we have to fear from the ingenuity of the English manufacturers or the enterprise of the German merchants.

Anybody who has dealt with railroads knows what I am talking about. Railroads in America have made and unmade cities and communities, have they not? They would do it now if they were not watched by the Interstate Commerce Commission. We are obliging them to work without discrimination now, but they at one time discriminated as they pleased, and they determined where cities were to grow and where cities were to decay.

Very well. The same thing is happening upon the high seas. The foreign carrier can tell you where you

can go and where you cannot go. He can discriminate against you and in favour of his own merchants and manufacturers, and he will, because he does.

And while all this is going on, and we lack the means, we are fairly bursting our own jacket. We are making more manufactured goods than we can consume ourselves, and every manufacturer is waking up to the fact that if we do not let anybody climb over our tariff wall to get in, he has got to climb to get out; that we have deliberately domesticated ourselves; that we have deliberately cut ourselves off from the currents of trade; that we have deliberately divorced ourselves from world commerce; and now, if we are not going to stifle economically, we have got to find our way out into the great international exchanges of the world. There is a new question.

I was speaking in Boston the other evening at a real estate exchange, and I asked those gentlemen what is going to keep real estate values in Boston steady? I asked them if they realized what was likely to happen after the year 1915. You know that in that year it is likely that the great ditch in the Isthmus will be open for commerce. We are not opening it for America, by the way, because we haven't any ships to send through it; we are opening it for England and Germany. (Applause.) We are pouring out American millions in order that German exporters, English exporters and French exporters may profit by our enterprise; and when that is done, of course something is going to happen to America. I asked those gentlemen in Boston if, after that was done, the arteries of trade in this country would continue to run east and west. Some great arteries are going to open north and south. The great valley of the Mississippi is to be the home of teeming industries and of a ceaseless commerce. And then I wonder sometimes if it will not be colder still in the northeastern section of this country where Boston is situated. Those east winds, of which they are fond,

will not bring them increasing commerce, perhaps, but they will hear the throb of that great heart in the centre of the continent, which is shifting the centre of gravity, which is throwing into different arteries the course of the blood of the great commercial world. Does that strike you as something happening in America that you cannot sit still and neglect? Hadn't you better "whussle to the lobster"? Don't whistle to the dog, but whistle to the lobster, if you think it will do any good, but I have never enticed a lobster by whistling.

There is another new question in America, and that is the question of business. Business is in a situation in America that it was never in before; it is in a situation to which we have not adjusted our laws. Our laws are still meant for business done by *individuals*; they have not been satisfactorily adjusted to business done by great *combinations*, and we have got to adjust them. I do not say we may or may not, I say we have got to, there is no choice. If your laws do not fit your facts, the facts are not injured, the law is damaged; so much the worse for the law, because the law, unless I have studied it amiss, is the expression of the facts in legal regulation. Laws have never altered the facts; laws have always necessarily expressed the facts, adjusted interests as they have arisen, and changed to one another.

When before, in the history of America, were the Congress of the United States and the Legislature of every State called upon in every session to intervene in the regulation of business? Never before our own age.

Now why is all this happening? Why has business taken on a new aspect in America? Why does it wear a face with which we are only by degrees becoming familiar? For a very interesting reason. An ever diminishing circle of men exercise a control in America with which only the Government itself can compete.

I am not one of those, ladies and gentlemen, who speak of the interests in big letters as if they were enemies of mankind. I know the natural history of

the interests, and they grew just as naturally as an oak grows; some of them grew just as naturally as a weed grows. (Laughter.)

I am not here to enter an indictment against business. No man indicts natural history. No man undertakes to say that the things that have happened by operation of irresistible forces are immoral things, though some men may have made deeply immoral use of them. I am not here to suggest that the automobile be destroyed because some fools take joy rides in it. I want to catch the fools. I am not here, in other words, to suggest that the things that have happened to us must be reversed, and the scroll of time rolled back on itself. To attempt that would be futile and ridiculous. I am here to point out as clearly as I can what I believe to be the facts, and what most of you *know* to be the facts, because some of you have been considering these things longer than I have, and I have no doubt that you have seen things clearer in twenty years than I have seen them in twenty months. I am not talking about things distant; I am talking about things that I have seen with my eyes and handled with my hands.

Now these things, if you will allow me to express them briefly—and to express them briefly means to express them imperfectly—these things amount to this, that a comparatively small number of men control the raw material of this country; that a comparatively small number of men control the water powers that can be made useful for the economical production of the power to drive our machinery almost entirely; that that same small number of men, by agreements handed around among themselves, control prices, and that that same group of men control the larger credits of the country.

Do you know that nobody can undertake the larger kind of undertakings without their approval and consent? There are very few men who can afford to stand up and tell you that, because there are very few men in my happy condition. I haven't any note in bank.

(Applause.) I live within my income and I cannot be punished for what I say. (Applause.) But I know perfectly well, and I have been told by men who dared not speak above their breaths with regard to it for fear they would be punished, that I could not start a great enterprise in this country that needed a million or more of money to start it unless I made an agreement and combination with certain gentlemen who control the great credits of the country.

Now I am not hot in my mind against these gentlemen. They used the opportunities which we accorded them, and they have got us. Some of them are just as patriotic, just as public spirited, just as honest as any man in America. But when you have got the market in your hand, does honesty oblige you to turn the palm upside down and empty it? If you have got the market in your hand and believe that you understand the interest of the country better than anybody else, is it patriotic to let it go?

I was trying to analyze the other day what a Republican is. (Laughter.) I do not want to say anything about that great body of my fellow-countrymen in various parts of America who have formed the bad habit of voting the Republican ticket. They are not the men I am talking about, but the Republican leaders, the men who establish the ideals and policies of that party, how would you describe them? Why, I would say that ~~they~~ they are men who actually believe that the only men whose advice it is safe to take with regard to the happiness and prosperity of America are the men who have the biggest material stake in the enterprises of America. They believe, therefore, that America ought to be governed by trustees—(applause)—and that those trustees are the managers of the oldest and greatest “vested interests” of the country. That is a workable theory, that is a theory that has obtained time out of mind. It happens, though these gentlemen have forgotten it, that America was established to get rid of it, but, having

forgotten that, reading only the older books, I dare say, reading back of the birth of America, they say that there are only a few men with grasp enough of affairs and knowledge enough of what are the bases of prosperity to run a big, complicated government like this.

Now, as a Democrat—(applause)—I define myself by absolutely protesting against that view of public affairs. I will not live under trustees if I can help it. (Applause.) No group of men less than the majority has a right to tell me how I have got to live in America. I will submit to the majority, because I have been trained to do it, though I may have my private opinion even of the majority; but, being a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat, I am proud to submit my judgment to that majority of my fellow-citizens.

I know that there are some gum-shoe politicians in both camps who do not agree with that theory at all. They say, "You need not say much about it out loud, but we have got to run these people; this enterprise of free government has to be personally conducted"—(applause)—"that the people want this or that we do not deny, but they do not know what is good for them."

So there are two theories of trusteeship, a trusteeship of the big interests and a trusteeship of the machine. I do not see my way to subscribe to either kind of trusteeship. Not that I am an insurgent, because I believe in organization; I believe that party success is impossible without organization; but I make this distinction between organization and the machine—organization is a systematic coöperation of men for a common purpose, while the machine is a systematic coöperation of men for a private purpose. (Great applause.) I know what I am talking about, because we have a perfect specimen in New Jersey.

Now I know what supports the machine, because I have seen them eat out of a spoon. It is a golden spoon, and I have seen the nurse that fed them, and I

have seen that nurse absolutely impartial as between the Republican machine and the Democratic machine—(laughter and applause)—and the price of the food, the price of the nutrition, is that the machine will be good, that it will see that nothing is done that will hurt the nurse, that nothing is done which will interfere with the private understanding that is established in the nursery.

Now this is our problem. We have got to set to work now systematically to conserve every resource and every energy of America. We have got to realize that an absolute readjustment of trade is necessary, and that that is an irresistible battering-ram that is battering at the wall of the tariff.

The tariff is not the question it was a generation ago. I hear gentlemen make speeches now who do not know that, but it is not. They talk as if it was a question of protecting us from external competition, while internal competition keeps prices down; and I happen to know that there is not any internal competition. (Applause.) And I happen to know that this great, irresistible energy of America is doing more than it can keep within its own shops and limits, and therefore it has got to be released for the commercial conquest of the world. Say what you will, whether you are abstractly for protection or against it, you have got to legislate for the release of the energies of America.

Then, in the next place, there is the whole matter of business adjustment. Our laws are just about a generation belated, as compared with economic conditions not only, but as compared with what other advanced nations have done to bring about adjustment. Progressive America is belated, has lost its leadership in the handsome competition to show the world the way out of its difficulties.

That is the problem, and that is the reason I say that the twentieth century is better worth living in than any century that has turned up in our recollection, and

that is the reason I return with confidence to Virginia and say: "You remember that your men saw such an age when this government was set up; is she daunted now to see another age that calls for constructive statesmanship; has she less vision now; has she lost courage now; has she lost the indomitable integrity now that she had then?" I wonder what will happen when Virginia sees these things with the veil withdrawn from her eyes. She will rejoice as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber; she will say, "Here is an age fit for Virginia again."

Now, what are we going to do about it?

A VOICE—Elect Wilson. (Applause.)

MR. WILSON—I hoped that you would not hear that. What is our problem? First of all, in order to move carefully, we have got to move by standard, have we not? You cannot launch out and trust to the currents. You have got to have something to steer by. You have got to know whither you are bound.

You know that curious expression, that very erroneous expression we have, when a man has lost his way in a forest or a desert. We say he has lost himself. Did you ever reflect that that is the only thing he has not lost? He is there, but what is lost is all the rest of the world. If he knew any fixed thing in his neighbourhood and knew whether it was east of him, or north of him, or south of him, or west of him, he could steer; but he has lost even the points of the compass. He does not know how he is related to the universe. Now unless you have a standard to steer by, you are lost; how would you know in which direction to steer, and where you are going? If I want to go in that direction, this way is not my road. I have got to know whither I am bound and what landmarks to guide myself by.

Do we lack landmarks in America after all those ancient principles which we have set up like secret temples in which to go and worship and compose our spirits?

In the first place, we have the standards of liberty

and equal opportunity. In the second place we have this standard that the people are entitled to a government which represents them—(applause)—and in the third place they are entitled to government by that government which is in the common interest and not in the interest of special privilege.

Are not these the temples of liberty in which we have worshipped? Will any man be charged justly with trying to upset the institutions of America who works in the spirit of the worship of those principles?

What is liberty? You say of a great locomotive engine that it runs free. What do you mean? You mean that its parts are so assembled and adjusted that friction is reduced to a minimum, and that it has perfect adjustment. What do you mean by saying that a boat sails free? Do you mean that she is independent of the great breath that is in the heavens? Do you not mean that she has accommodated herself with graceful obeisance with the winds? Throw her up in the wind and see her shiver in every stick and stitch of her, while, as a seaman would say, she is held in irons. But let her fall off, let her bow to the majesty of nature, and then she is free in her adjustment. Let these serve as images.

Human freedom consists in perfect adjustment of human interests to one another. The whole problem is a problem of adjustment, reducing the friction; not reducing it by mere lubrication—(applause)—not reducing it by merely pouring in the oil of money and persuasion and flattery, but by so adjusting the parts that they love to coöperate, that they never buckle up, that they never grow so hot that we cannot move the machine at all without danger. And unless there is this perfect adjustment there will not be given that opportunity without which men cannot draw a full breath or live a day without despair. Let any group of men have the right to say to others, "You must come to us before you can do anything," and see how long America will be considered a place worth living in by free men.

Our standards, therefore, are these, and we must fearlessly use them—we must say to ourselves, “We are going to reject everything that does not square with those things.”

Now, what is the fact? I am happy to believe that Virginia has so far been spared the mortifying experience that has come upon some other States. A great many of the States of this Union, ladies and gentlemen, have been privately controlled. There has not been an adjustment, there has not been free opportunity, there has not been government that represented the people, there has not been government in the common interests. When changes are proposed in those commonwealths, do not fall upon those who propose them and say they are changing the character of our government; or, if you do, admit they are changing it back from what it has become to what it was originally intended to be. (Applause.) No man that I know of and trust, no man that I will consent to consort with, is trying to change anything fundamental in America. But what means have we of change? Suppose that every time you try to change your government, you have the experience that the enterprising people of New Jersey had for sixteen years together, when to choose between one ticket and another ticket was to choose between tweedledum and tweedledee. Suppose that every time public opinion unmistakably expressed itself, something invisible, something intangible, something that you could not get at, intervened between you and the action upon which you had determined, then what image would arise in your mind? That you are disappointed in your institutions as they were established? No. That you are mortified because of the change that has come over your institutions by the extent to which they have been debased.

Now you have got to choose between one of two things. I never saw this as I see it now until I came into actual, practical contact with the administration of a great State. I thank God that I have learned some-

thing in the last eighteen months, and what I have learned is this—that you have got to choose between two courses, either constructive leadership which you will stand behind to the limit, or else a resort direct to the people themselves. There are no other ways.

What does it mean, ladies and gentlemen, that all over the United States people are demanding of their Governors and of their President that they take the affairs of those people in their own hands, demanding of them leadership, not satisfied that they are honest, merely, not satisfied with their good intentions, merely, but demanding of them that they shall translate their intentions into such persuasive government that nothing can withstand them as spokesmen of the people? That is what America is demanding.

I want to tell a story, if you will allow me; I have told it very often, but most of you probably have not heard it. While Mr. Roosevelt was President, I boarded a train near my home one day and I found one of the gentlemen who were then Senators from New Jersey on the train. I dropped into the seat beside him. I found him in a very bad humor. I said, "Senator, what is the matter?" "Oh," he said, "I wish the Constitution had not given the President the right to send messages to Congress." "Why," I said, "Senator, you are barking up the wrong tree. That is not what is the matter. The trouble is that the President publishes his messages, and if the country happens to agree with him it does not stop to hear what you have to say." The President is the only member of the government of the United States elected by the whole people of the United States; he is the only one whose utterances go into all the newspapers of the United States; and inasmuch as he has a universal audience and nobody else has, nobody can answer him; and if he happens to speak the opinion of the country nobody can resist him. (Applause.) America has got the zest for that in its imagination, and it is unquiet if it does not get a President

that will do that sort of thing; and I will tell you, having ridden a restive State myself, that the people in most of the States are very uncomfortable, and full of protest if their Governors do not do it. They do not want their Governors to exercise any unconstitutional power; but what is a more constitutional power than the power of public opinion? What is more persuasive and irresistible than the voice of universal conviction? That is the force that can bring back representative government in America where it has been lost. Thank God there are a great many places where it has not been lost. It is a local question, it is a question which each community can settle for itself.

But if you cannot get constructive leadership, then what? If, every time you try it, somebody defeats the purpose which your leader expresses, what are you going to do about it?

I want to read you a passage from the Virginia Bill of Rights, that immortal document which has been a model for declarations of liberty throughout the rest of the continent.

"That all power is vested in and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them."

Did you ever hear the doctrine put more flatly?

"That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people of the nation or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety and is the most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."

I have heard that read a score of times on the Fourth

of July, but I never heard it read where actual measures were being debated. (Applause.) Now I am willing to come back to Virginia and stand with George Mason on the Bill of Rights. When I do that, I have got native soil under my feet, soil more fertile for the growth of liberty than any soil that can be compounded. (Applause.) And I say that if we cannot get constructive leadership, and we can if we will, then we have our solution in the Bill of Rights, "A majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it as may be judged most conducive to the public weal." I do not propose anything of that sort, I do not believe it is necessary, but I do like a gun behind the door. (Applause.) I do like to say to people, "Well, if you can't bring the game down any other way, go and get your gun."

There are wise and unwise ways of shooting. I had rather pepper the animal than kill him, I had rather touch him once than deprive him of vitality. But you can load your gun according to your own taste; you do not have to put buckshot in it, you can put the smallest birdshot in it that you can find, and then at your leisure afterwards pick it out of the hide. But always remember that behind you like a bulwark is that Bill of Rights, that you have the right to any kind of government you please to have. That is the kind of insurgent I am, because all the while I remember the temper of America. I honestly believe that a better nation, more long enduring, more patiently suffering, more conservative people does not exist upon God's planet. I am not afraid of the American people getting up and humping themselves; I am only afraid they will not; and when I hear of popular vote spoken of as mob government, I feel like telling the man who utters that that he has no right to call himself an American. (Applause.) Just picture to yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, the great voting population of Virginia, from the sea to the far borders in the mountains, going calmly, man by man,

to the polls, expressing their judgment about public affairs, and ask yourselves if that is your image of a mob.

What is a mob? A mob is a body of men in hot contact with one another, moved by a single, ungovernable passion upon doing a hasty thing that they will regret the next day. Do you see anything resembling a mob in that voting population of the countryside, men tramping over the mountainside, men going to the general store up in the village, men going in little conversing groups to cast their ballots—is that your notion of a mob, or is that your picture of free self-governing people?

I am not afraid of the judgments so expressed, if you give men time to think, if you give them a clear conception of the things they are to vote for; because the deepest conviction and passion of my heart is that the common people, by which I mean all of us, are to be absolutely trusted. (Applause.) The peculiarity of some representatives, particularly of the Republican party, is that when they talk about the people, they obviously do not include themselves. Now if, when you think of the people, you are not thinking about yourself, then you do not belong in America. I, on the other hand, am liberal and generous enough, when I speak of the people, to include them. (Applause.) They do not deserve it, but then I cannot, if I am true to my principles, exclude them, they have got to come in. You know that delightful expression Horace Greeley, who was one of the general advocates of a general amnesty to the Southern people, made use of in an eager argument one day. He said, "You know, we have got to forgive them, damn them." (Laughter and applause.) That is the only working program. You cannot have the people unless you include everybody, and therefore I am ready to admit everybody.

When I look back at the processes of history, when I look back at the genesis of America, I see this written

over every page, that the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; that the genius which springs up from the ranks of unknown men is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people; and in every age of the world, where you stop the courses of the blood from the roots, you injure the great, useful structure to the extent that atrophy, death and decay are sure to ensue. That is the reason that an hereditary monarchy does not work; that is the reason that an hereditary aristocracy does not work; that is the reason that everything of that sort is full of corruption and ready to decay.

So I say that our challenge of to-day is to include in the partnership all those great bodies of unnamed men who are going to produce our future leaders and renew the future energies of America. And as I confess that, as I confess my belief in the common man, I know what I am saying. The man who is swimming against the stream knows the strength of it. The man who is in the *mêlée* knows what blows are being struck and what blood is being drawn. The man who is on the make is a judge of what is happening in America, not the man who has made; not the man who has emerged from the flood, not the man who is standing on the bank looking on, but the man who is struggling for his life and for the lives of those who are dearer to him than himself. That is the man whose judgment will tell you what is going on in America, and that is the man by whose judgment I for one wish to be guided—(applause)—so that as the tasks multiply and the days come when all will seem confusion and dismay, we may lift up our eyes to the hills out of these dark valleys where the crags of special privilege overshadow and darken our path, to where the sun gleams through the great passage in the broken cliffs, the sun of God, the sun meant to regenerate men, the sun meant to liberate them from their passion and despair and to lift us to those uplands which are the promised land of every man who desires liberty and achievement.

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

ADDRESS BEFORE THE IROQUOIS CLUB, CHICAGO, AT
HOTEL LA SALLE, ON LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, FEBRU-
ARY 12, 1912. IN PAMPHLET.

Mr. President, Mr. Toastmaster, and Fellow Citizens:

I FEEL it a great honour to stand here in the presence of this distinguished body of men in order to speak once more the faith that is in me. I have many times spoken in the city of Chicago and I want to say with commiseration for them, that many gentlemen here present have often heard me, and yet it is always delightful to be able to speak again to those with whom I have been brought in close association, on those principles which I know to be sound and patriotic, upon a theme which invites any man to speak the truth. For the thought that is uppermost in the minds of all of us is, of course, that this is Lincoln's birthday, and I know of no example which more provokes than his simplicity, sincerity and truth.

I sometimes think it is a singular circumstance that the present Republican party should have sprung from Lincoln, but that is one of the mysteries of Providence and for my part I feel the closest kinship in principle and in political lineament to that great mind. I wonder if we appreciate, gentlemen, just how apposite his example is to the present moment. Here was a case where the nation had come to a critical turning point in its history, where it had to make a choice whether it would divide or remain united upon a fundamental question of social structure—a question which was all the more difficult to approach and more difficult to solve because it involved so much passion, because it

involved some of the deepest feelings that men can acquire. There is nothing so solid in our present social structure as was exhibited in the old social structure of the United States, for at that time there were roots that had run back generation after generation, and to disturb them seemed almost to disturb the foundation of the life of the people. At that critical juncture what happened? Was a man picked out who had become experienced and sophisticated among the ruling class of the community? Is it not an interesting circumstance that a man should have come almost untutored from the mass of the people, who had the wisdom, who had the vision as well as the courage and sagacity to handle a great crisis with a steadiness which made it possible to save the nation? I do not know any life which more illustrates the fundamental faith of democracy. The fundamental faith of democracy is that out of a mass of uncatalogued men you can always count upon genius asserting itself, genius suited to mankind, genius suited to the task. The richness of a democracy is in this—that it never has to predict who is going to save it. It never relies upon those of established influence. The gates of opportunity are wide open and he may enter who is fit. And when you look back to that rugged, almost ungainly figure, like the gnarled oak of the forest that suddenly arose and showed itself to be head and shoulders not only in physical but moral stature above its fellows, and then see the sad and wistful eyes with which he moved among his fellow-men, not as a man who works revolution, but as a man who interprets the thought of his own and insists also upon all classes listening to this fundamental voice of the people themselves, is not that a vindication of democracy? We don't have to train men to interpret the United States. They are born with the largesse of Providence, a Providence that has always tried to teach mankind that only God can classify man and that men cannot.

What produced the birth of Freedom in the modern

world? It was the conception that every man stood naked and individual in his responsibility before his God and Maker and that the only test was the test of native worth and native principle. That's what has been the foundation of liberty, and so far as we have forgotten and obscured it, so far as we have impaired its operation, we have gone astray and found ourselves in a jungle from which we do not see any way of extrication. Therefore, I do not know of any better day upon which to explain what seems to me to be the duty of the Democracy than the birthday of Lincoln.

I heard a story about Lincoln the other day—a new one—which has such a distinctive flavour of authenticity that I am sure it was true. I believe it was told by Mr. Horace White, who was a young reporter at the time of the debates between Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. As I was told the story, at one of the very best of those debates he was sitting on the platform in an open space near Lincoln. Lincoln was seated, as usual, in his long linen duster and alongside of him was a lady whom Mr. White did not know. Mr. Douglas spoke first and when he had sat down Mr. Lincoln leisurely got up, slowly removed the linen duster, carefully folded it up, placed it in the lap of the lady who was sitting by and said, "Won't you be kind enough to hold this garment until I go stone Stephen?" Now, Stephen Douglas, as the men of Illinois need not be told, was a very astute and very admirable figure in our politics, but just at that moment Douglas stood for an order of things, a process of reasoning in politics, about to be rejected and this man of the people used as the missiles with which to stone Stephen not any words of personal bitterness, nothing but the words of common, homely reason and a fearless analysis of the existing situation of affairs in the United States. He uttered, you will remember, that immortal sentence, "I do not say that the Union will be destroyed, but I do say that it cannot continue to exist half free and half slave." He predicted a

peaceful outcome, he predicted an outcome that would save the unity and integrity of the Nation, but he also fearlessly stated the fact that as it stood it could not go on. And, gentlemen, that statement ought to be made now—that *as our economic affairs are now organized they cannot go on*. There is no such deep division as existed in Lincoln's day: it is more intricate, it is more difficult to-day than the division which existed in Lincoln's day, but it is not of the sort that invites the passions of whole populations, thank God. It is something that can, by clear thinking, be dealt with and successfully dealt with, and no man who is a friend of this country predicts any of the deeper sorts of trouble, any of the revolutionary processes which destroy and do not restore. Our task is one of restoration, of refreshment, of rejuvenation, of the recovery of things which we all revere but which are overcast and overweighted with all sorts of things which we wish, by slow and prudent stages, to rid ourselves of. But, notwithstanding that we wish this, that we have the time and we have the temper in which to solve these things, we ought to be perfectly radical in our statement of the fact that as at present organized the thing cannot go on. That is really not debatable. What is debatable is the wise thing to do.

As I have looked about me and as I have travelled from one part of this country to the other I have been struck by nothing so much as this—the unity in the thinking and in the temper of the people of all parts of the United States. Not long ago I had the pleasure of visiting the city of Madison, Wisconsin, and then proceeding directly from there, without interruption of journey, to Dallas, Texas, and if I had not known that I had not been transported in my dreams, had not known the space I had traversed between Wisconsin and Texas, I should have thought I was in the same state, for there was the same point of view, the same purpose in politics, the same desire for emancipation from the old connec-

tions; that will allow men to argue and also to act the way they feel instead of acting the way they are labelled; the same determination to pick out men and measures as they please, and not to be satisfied until they had picked out the right men and measures according to the purposes they had framed in their hearts; the determination to see to it that they did not get fooled by anybody any more. And there are various ways of getting fooled. You can get fooled by people who think they mean what they say and don't; you can get fooled by people who know they don't mean what they say and yet say it. You can even get fooled by people who earnestly mean what they say and don't know what they are talking about. And the people are out to catch all kinds of fraud in respect of the man who is a fraud upon himself as well as the man who is a fraud upon them, and in the circumstances it is a most interesting and exhilarating field in which to play ball, because you feel that the combination of politics that is about to take place is going to take place with an impulse gained from a new generation. It is a very interesting fact that the harness of modern politics sits most lightly upon the youngest men. The young men of this country are now about to take a serious part in the plot and they are determined that they are going to make the plot, not such as it was theoretically represented to them to be when they were in school and college, but such as they have found it is. I myself contributed to deceive them at one time in some respects, but I know more than I did then; I have found some gentlemen out. Distance and perspective make a great deal of difference. When you get on the inside things look somewhat different from the way they looked on the outside, and you can always test a man by the very simple rule, put in very plain language, which we generally express when we say "put up or shut up." *Do the thing you profess to believe or else get out of the game.* I used to take a somewhat active part in advising men younger than

myself about the game of football, and we always knew when we were picking out promising material for behind the line that it did not prove a man was a good halfback because he would take the ball and start with it instantly. You had to wait until he approached an opening and see how he struck the line, and if he hesitated to go through there was no more time wasted on him. The way you tell a man is whether he still has his head down and steam on when he strikes the line, because most of them will go down very finely and then check and stop and wonder what is going to happen when that mass of men come in his way. There is the same thing in politics. We need a great many men to forge through the line.

I am going to speak very frankly to you to-day about what I conceive to be the opportunity of the Democratic party. That's the opportunity I am interested in. I am not responsible for the Republican party. I would wish to mention men in my prayers to a higher authority who are, because the Republican field is singularly broken and what really needs to be expounded in order to explain the Democratic opportunity, is why the Republican party *is* so broken. Why is it that you cannot for the life of you calculate which are in the numerical ascendancy, the Standpatters or the Insurgents? Of course the Insurgents make more noise than the Standpatters. Most of the Standpatters wear gum shoes and it is impossible by the assistance of your ear to count the number of men with gum shoes on, whereas it is quite possible to reckon the host of their opponents, for they all shout and there is a great deal of noise among the allies of war on the Insurgent side of the Republican camp, but nobody quite knows who is in command of the camp. All of that is due to the fact that the so-called Insurgent Republicans know something has happened to the Republican party; that it has lost its way. But whether it has lost its way or not every man with a weather eye must perceive that it is

not bound for any accommodating haven, that the country is out of humour with those who recently administered its affairs; that it does not believe they are bound for a definite enough goal and does not believe they know how to get there even if they believe they know they do. I am not saying this by way of harsh criticism but by way of analysis. I am not arguing with you; I am telling you. Now, on the other hand, you have an extraordinarily stubborn tradition and that tradition is that every man of business standing and of business foresight will naturally ally himself with the Republican party, because that's the business man's party. That is the proposition that has been established in this country by those elections which have time out of mind been personally conducted. These people have had expounded to them so long and forcibly the idea that nobody understands the prosperity of America except Republicans that a good many intelligent people have actually come to believe it and it is expected of young men, if they are going to get into the ranks of solid persons, that they will ally themselves with the Republican party.

Now, the business of America must be taken care of. Nobody denies that. America is a business country and the particular thing of which business is intolerant is ill-considered and rapid change. It is profoundly distrustful of everything that it regards as experimental. It believes that sure perdition lies in the direction of a theoretical program and therefore it shrugs its shoulders with regard to any such out and out doctrine as free trade, and to say a man is a free trader is almost as much as to say that his credit is not good at the bank, that he does not understand business, that he does not understand all those interests which have been built together and become vested by reason of the advantages which have been founded upon a protective tariff. When I talk with Insurgent Republicans and we lay our views frankly before one another, the only difference I can

find between myself and them is this: they have a profound reverence for the theory of protection. They are willing to let down the bars of the tariff a good deal, willing to reduce it if it doesn't go down very far, but even to take down a single bar seems a concession. They say, "The fence was higher when the old man was living and I don't know what the old man would say if his son should take down a bar. The cattle might get out. I recognize the spirit—the cows are free agents, but I am not going to take the fence down. I would do it with a bad conscience and if I took it down I wouldn't dare join the old man in the next world."

Now, I have not the least feeling of piety on the question of protection. The whole question is one of expediency pure and simple. Either it is or it is not good for the country. If it is good for the country we ought to have it. If it is not, we ought not to have it, and if it is good in some degree for the country we ought to have it in that degree and no more. Everything you say about it must be proved by data and facts and not by any theory. I have no feeling of piety with regard to the doctrine of free trade or any political doctrine except the political doctrine of the equal rights of men. The standard is the actual good of the country, not any theoretical measure of that good nor anything taken out of theoretical books.

Now, we are in the presence, therefore, of a state of mind and a state of mind is a very serious thing, I can tell you. A panic is a state of mind. When a panic comes on there is just as much money in the country as when it started and there is just as much credit; that is to say, men are just as much deserving of credit as they were before it started, but it is a state of mind where nobody any longer knows it is safe to trust, where everybody is looked upon with distrust and every enterprise is supposed to be overlooked. There is therefore universal timidity, and inasmuch as states of mind in a crisis can ruin men's fortunes, a state of

mind is a very serious thing. And this present state of mind of the country at large is a very serious thing, which the successful party must understand and arrest. The fortunate circumstance is that business is finding out for itself that something is the matter. It does not have to be told by politicians; it knows something is the matter, for business is aware that privilege has lifted its ugly head in the organization of business and that in order that the average business man should have the free opportunities of his own occupation something has got to be done to stop the domination and tyranny of privilege. In other words, business itself is aware that it is in bondage and it is determined to break out of bondage.

The pathetic thing to my mind, gentlemen, is this: I make it my business to talk to as many men engaged in large affairs as I can get access to, to lay my mind frankly before them and induce them to lay theirs frankly before me, and what strikes me is the extraordinary number of men who absolutely agree with me as to what ought to be done but beseech me not to use their names or to quote them. In other words, something exists in this country of which business men are afraid, and if there is something to make the business men of this country afraid it ought to be removed at any cost. And so business is getting a little more tolerant before the proposals of change. Business is saying, "After all there is something the matter. We are perfectly willing to sit down and work out an analysis of what it is that is the matter and we will assist in correcting it if you will only deal temperately with it and in the terms which we can understand." And business is beginning to realize, also, that the combinations—and I am not now speaking of individual trusts, for the problem is much bigger than that, but with the combinations of personnel, the understandings, private tips; of those things which I need not describe to this body of men, that hold you together or else make it dangerous for you to break out; that the very privilege that is domi-

nating business is seeing to it that politics is dominated by its purposes and that most of those processes of politics of which we have grown suspicious are allied with processes of business of which we also have grown suspicious. When I hear you say to me let business alone, I say I will do it upon one condition; that you will let politics alone. Politics did not enter business. Let me tell you that business entered politics. Now if you want this thing remedied take business out of politics. Take your own condition—and I am now talking on the chance that I am addressing some people who hold the opinion I have just quoted—if you want the politician to give business a chance, then all I have to say is, give politics a chance to act independently of the influence of money and of privilege. These are some of the things, gentlemen, to which my eyes have been opened since I got on the inside. I have seen men with my own eyes, in at least one state legislature, who did not dare to vote the way they thought and who clearly disclosed to me in private that they wouldn't dare say it in public, and for their sakes I wouldn't dare use their names for they would be ruined—who disclosed to me in private those business connections which had them in their grip. They told me if they voted the way they thought they could not renew their notes at certain banks. This is terrible. It is disgraceful. It is the grip of business on politics, and I say, let the throat of politics go, withdraw this iron hand and let the wholesome blood get into the brain again. Mark you, gentlemen, I know just as well as you do that this is not what most business men do. I am honoured by the friendship and confidence of scores of business men who study and understand the interests of this country just as well as any man of my acquaintance; but what sometimes makes the heat come into my blood is to realize how a small number of men have put their comrades in business in a false attitude toward public affairs by the things they ventured privately to do. No man of con-

science or who knew anything would enter a protest against the business men of this honest nation, but it is because we are fighting the old thing that I am so much interested in the cause we are fighting—the old thing of privilege, of little groups of men, the thing we have been fighting time out of mind ever since the conception of liberty was born.

Such is the state of mind of the country, and now the question is, will the country trust the Democratic party to undertake the solution of these difficulties? I say that it is not a question of individual leaders—it is a question of the disposition and methods of the Democratic party. Upon what terms will they trust the Democratic party? Why, in the first place, they will trust it just so soon as they make sure that the Democratic party knows what's the matter, that it does not see phantasms, that it does not see unreal things, that it has gone to the bottom of the items which constitute the process that we should correct; that it has the intimate knowledge of the actual things to be done which will make the touch of its hand definite when it comes to the cure. I am fond of using a figure of speech in this connection which I think is a very useful figure. If a man is ill, the whole of whose system is sound except that in some one place there is a malignant growth, what does the surgeon do if he wants to save his patient's life? He cuts out the malignant growth, but he cannot do so until he knows just where the growth is, and it is not safe for him to approach it unless he can tenderly and delicately separate the intervening muscles and nerves and vital fibres and touching nothing else, finds the exact spot, and with a skill, bred of knowledge, extricates the one thing that interferes with the wholesome course of the blood. And the country is going to judge the Democratic party by its prognosis and diagnosis. It has got to show that it knows just where and what the malignant growth is and then it has got to

show that it can produce surgeons who can cut that thing out without hurting anything else.

Now, the diagnosis is going on. It is somewhat unpleasant. It is very embarrassing to have your interior structure inquired into. There is an intimacy about the inquiries of the surgeon which is in one sense highly unconstitutional. It invades the very intimacies of the individual structure, but there is this inquiry going on. The Stanley committee has been conducting a part of the prognosis. There are inquiries going on which are inquiring into the particulars item by item of the processes by which prices are determined irrespective of the demand in the market; the processes by which the product is controlled and competition excluded, the processes by which the output is limited and thereby the income determined; the processes by which free competitors are thrown out of competition or pushed to the wall. These things are being, item by item, disclosed.

Now, when we get these items—we don't have to wait for all of them, we can go after them one at a time—having discovered your item, then get your cure. You know if you want to make a rabbit pie, first get your rabbit—and so with these; having discovered them, then see that the Democratic party is wise enough to suggest a way in which the remedies can be matched with the details. We have got the principles. We did not have to have statutes to forbid monopoly in the United States. The immemorial principles of the common law forbid monopoly. It needed only the genius of those who could blaze a way into new territory, to make statutes unnecessary in stopping the processes and methods of monopoly. We are not debating monopoly. We are debating the very much more difficult problem of how to stop monopoly; and whenever we see monopoly showing its head there is the place for your shillalah. I withdraw the analogy because I don't look upon politics as a Donnybrook Fair, but with that apology I would not further amend the indictment.

We know the items. Now it is perfectly possible to direct the processes of your law against the items without disturbing anything that is honest and natural and inevitable in the development of modern business. The enemy of business is a man with a programme which goes further than he can see, or with a programme the items of which are not based upon the indisputable evidence produced in the examination. Just so long as you feel your way in politics you are unreasonably disturbing business, but so soon as you know your way, go the whole length without stopping to ask anybody's leave. Correct the mistakes, correct the errors, check the things that are wrong, and you cannot make a mistake in checking anything that is wrong. Now I, for my part, feel that the Democratic party is better qualified to do these things I will say than any other party, because the Democratic party keeps its connections and has kept its connections time out of mind with those things fundamental in our political conceptions. I always remember, gentlemen, that America was established not to create wealth—though any nation must create wealth which is going to make an economic foundation for its life—but to realize a vision, to realize an ideal. America has put itself under bonds to the earth to discover and maintain liberty among men, and if she cannot see liberty now with the clear, unerring vision she had at the outset, she has lost her title, she has lost every claim to the leadership and respect of the nations of the world. If she is going to put her material processes before her spiritual processes, then all I have to say is she has ceased to be America and should withdraw the name in order to withdraw the promise, because that name has always shone here in the West like a beacon of hope and confidence for all the nations of the world. Men have turned their eyes towards America in order that they might release themselves from the very kind of privilege which we have permitted in some places to grow; and if we discover that we ourselves have fallen

into the slough, that we ourselves have not taken the ways that lie upon firm ground, the ways that lift themselves up the long slopes that are the slopes of ultimate emancipation, then how will the hope of the world subside, how will men cry out in despair that the great light in the West has gone out. Unless, gentlemen, we once more get in our hearts the passion for what America stands for we shall accomplish nothing. And in this age of difficulty and perplexity, how does any man relieve himself from perplexity? If he goes to bed at night arguing upon the grounds of solvency and expediency he will toss all night long on his bed, but if it is proof he desires, there is only one rule, and that is the rule of right and justice, and if he says, "I am going to stand by that, cost what it may," then sleep will come to him as it came to him when a little child and he imagined that angels were about his couch. That is the temper that makes America and I, for my part, am confident with the confidence of youth that this spirit has come back in America. I don't profess its coming. The great hurricane with which comment moves from one part of this country to another is to realize that it has come, that men are ready to make sacrifices in order that the public weal may be served and that there is henceforth to be a common council into which men will enter, not only that they and their individual fortunes may be served, but that the great fortunes of America may also be served; I am not speaking in my interest. No, gentlemen, you knew when you came here that you were not going to listen to a man who was going to commend himself to you. You knew you were going to listen to a man who whether he was right or wrong was going to tell you what he thought and leave it to the jury and not the private councils held with men of understanding. In this country I am aware of the coming on of a new spirit—that old subtle cunning and sagacity that used to be the rule in America. The old idea of lie low and let the thing work itself out is dis-

appearing. You can't lie low any more, because there is a searchlight moving everywhere. You know the old quotation, Heaven lies about us in our infancy, and the cynical modification of it is that in old age we lie about ourselves; but we have not reached the stage of senility as yet in which we do lie about ourselves. Frankness has come to be the law of life amongst us—amongst those of us who respect ourselves and respect our communities and hope for the best things in politics, and that's the reason the lines of party are being obscured; that's the reason men are about to treat them according to their right temperaments and purposes; that's the reason the standpat dam that has been built so high but of such stolid, stupid masonry, is going to give way. Nothing is more solid than the solidity of the willingness of men to think. After twenty years of teaching I was greatly comforted by a professor at Yale who told me that after an equal length of time he had come to the conclusion that the human mind had infinite measures of resources; and these resources are not going to give way, but what is going to happen is this: Engineers are coming to the front. They say you don't have to break that dam down; it would flood the country. You have to penetrate it, and let this great body of water piled up behind run through those great courses, alongside of which we can build mills and happy homes and see that the future generations of America know what the power is amongst them and can guide it and trust it. That's what is going to happen and then we will be thankful; and I am thankful the standpat dam was so long unpenetrated. It gave us time to think. That's the only thing I have to say in favour of chewing tobacco; it gives you time to think between sentences. We have had time to think and examine and we have concluded we cannot break the "dam" thing down, but we can penetrate it and take control of these great forces which have been built up behind it; and so far as I am concerned the future is a future of hope for

the Democratic party, because it has a prospect of vision, of ideals applied, of knowledge soberly acted upon, of purposes indomitably applied, until nothing can resist the steady impact of its force. And so in the twentieth century we shall renew the distinction which came upon America at the end of the eighteenth century, where, looking upon our own affairs without excitement, without revolutionary impulse, we altered the processes of our life to suit the sober processes of our law and America has come again upon a constructive age of politics where her statesmen shall talk business and her business consent to the processes of liberty and achievement.

THE TARIFF AND THE TRUSTS

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, FEBRUARY 24, 1912. FROM PAMPHLET IN THE LIBRARY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

THE introduction to which I have just listened certainly puts me under a great obligation for the generous judgment which it embodies. But I am very much afraid that it will be very difficult for me to play up to the rôle, and I want to say at the outset, while I appreciate most profoundly all that has been said, that I do not come here as a Wilson man. I think I can say most sincerely that what stirs my blood in the present contest is not that it may affect me, but that there is a great thing to be done, which intelligent men can combine to do successfully and triumphantly; that there is an opportunity now immediately awaiting the Democratic party such as has never awaited it before. I was saying just now to Mr. Douglas that it was an interesting thing to me that *there was one lesson that some men never seemed to learn, and that was that whenever they tried to serve themselves and made it obvious that they were trying to serve themselves, the thing they least succeeded in doing was serving themselves*; that the only way in which you can connect yourself with the forces of success is by connecting yourself with the forces of society, because every man will be as little as himself if his thought is centred upon himself. (Applause).

You know that we are sometimes laughed at by foreigners for boasting of the size of America, and they naturally suggest that we didn't make America, that we didn't make the physical continent we tread upon, and therefore it is hardly to our credit that it is so big.

But it seems to me they do not discriminate. *Men are just as big as the things they dominate*, and we have dominated a continent and therefore have reason to be proud of its size. Our greatness, the elasticity of our institutions, the adaptability of our life, is measured by the scale of a continent. Having covered that continent with happy homes and successful institutions, we have the right to be proud of its size. And so it seems to me with the individual. In proportion as he can cover with his activities and with his imaginations a great plan, so is he himself enlarged, and in proportion as a party can conceive a great opportunity and forget the things that may come to individuals in the struggle, in that proportion is it noble and in that proportion is it in the road to success. No party that centres its view upon itself can ever be serviceable to the United States. The United States can be served only in its own humour, and according to its own facts and circumstances. What moves my imagination is this, that the circumstances are not now what they ever were before in the United States. For example: we all of us agree that the central issue in the next campaign will probably be, as so often before, the question of the tariff. But the tariff is not now the question that it was a generation ago; the tariff is not now the question it was ten or fifteen years ago. Nature, and the development of our enterprises, the change in the circumstances of the world, would have taken charge of the tariff question. Take this single fact, for example—what made it very difficult to answer the old arguments of the advocates of a protective tariff was this. They pointed out what was perfectly obvious, that within the United States, with its great size and infinite variety, there was an unparalleled area of absolute free trade. The Constitution was set up in order that there might be free trade. There would have been no Constitution of the United States if it had not been that the colonies that had become states were determined to pull down the economic barriers between themselves.

That was what led to the Annapolis Convention, and the Philadelphia Convention. They first met to make a commercial arrangement and upon that commercial arrangement built the institutions of the Nation. The Constitution was made in order that there might be free trade between all the states, and that was the object of the power over interstate commerce that was granted to the Congress. And so, because there was domestic competition it was very difficult to answer the arguments of the protectionists, that protection does not directly govern price and therefore was not directly a burden upon the consumer, because the price was kept down by domestic competition upon the vast scale of a continent. All that has been altered in the last decade. In field after field of our economic exchanges competition has ceased to determine price. Monopoly in one form or another has taken the place of competition, and now, without competition, these gentlemen who lie so snugly behind the high wall of protection are determining arbitrarily what the prices of everything, from foodstuffs up, are to be.

It is not the old question. Senator La Follette, for example, in his interesting autobiography, calls attention to this fact, that the old argument so prominent on the lips of McKinley and Blaine, for instance, is absolutely obliterated by change of circumstances. Not only so, but in those old days we did not have such a surplus of manufactured articles as we have now. An interesting fact is, that our exports of grain with which we used to feed the world have been steadily falling off until the grain dealers tell me that we are within sight of the vanishing point, not because we are producing less, or because it is harder to sell our grain, but because we are needing more ourselves. And the proportion of grain to the domestic demand is very much smaller than it used to be. We are, therefore, coming to the point at which we do not export grain and cannot pay our international exchanges except by other products.

At the same time these tremendously stimulated manufacturers of ours have piled up their output to such an extent that they must have an outlet in foreign fields, or else there will be a congestion that will operate calamitously upon the economic conditions of the country.

But what has happened in the meantime? By the most stupendous stupidity on record we have obliterated our merchant marine. We haven't got the ships in which to carry these goods. We are not allowed to have the ships in which to carry these goods upon any terms by which we can afford to own them. So that we are very philanthropically digging a ditch through the Isthmus to the south of us for the use of the ships of all the world except American ships, for there aren't any American ships to go through. And we are told that the railways of the country are so jealous of their carrying trade that they are trying to prevent the loans necessary in order to build up new lines of ships to reach to the South. I don't know whether that is true or not, but it would be just like them for stupidity.

The trouble with our time is not so much selfishness as ignorance, inability to see what is going on under the eyes of the world. Now these are the things that are going on, and the nation that has the ships to carry her goods has the hands with which she can reach the foreign markets, and if she hasn't got the ships she has to go there under such disadvantages as the owners of foreign ships, owned by competing nations, choose to impose upon her.

Not only that, but we haven't a banking system which enables us to set up satisfactory exchange with foreign markets. Our National Banks are actually not allowed to deal in accepted bills of lading, so that Canadian bankers come down to New York, San Francisco and other ports and set up branch banking houses which can do this absolutely essential function of international trade. We have been so rooted in our provincialism, so

unaware of the very processes of our own industrial life, that we have cut ourselves off from the means of making ourselves supreme in the world from an economic point of view.

All this has been going on without the leave of the gentlemen who have established and maintained a protective policy. It has been like a great underground body of creeping waters, destroying the very foundation of the citadel which they thought they had built so stout. At the same time what is about to happen? Why all the threads are going to run in other directions; because the minute you cut that canal through the Isthmus then the great arteries of trade are not going to run exclusively East and West as they run now, they are going to sweep around to the South; they are going to fertilize that great valley of the Mississippi as it never was fertilized before with industry and commerce; and all the railroads instead of shipping outward to the ports are going to find their lines running inward. There are going to be more carrying problems than ever before, but not in the same parts of the country as before. No one can stay the change. And these gentlemen want to stand pat, are standing pat, while the tide is rising around them. You can see by their disconcerted manner that it is almost getting to their breathing apparatus. (Applause.)

In other words, what fills me with confidence in the future is this, that the world is not waiting upon the stupidity of Republican politics. The world has an awkward way of taking things into its own hands. The life of the people must in the long run express itself in its politics, and it does not now express itself in this country in the politics we have been accustomed to in the last decade. (Applause.)

These gentlemen may sit tight and hard as long as they please but they will be hoist by powers they cannot control. The whole query of the future is, does the

Democratic party understand the job and does it know how to do it?

We all feel the inflation of pleasure as Democrats that this is a Democratic year, but it isn't going to be a Democratic year if the Democratic party does not understand the job. (Applause.) Democratic enthusiasm isn't going to do it. Democratic confidence of success isn't going to do it. The selection of the right candidate isn't going to do it. People of this country know what they want and what they are after is not the candidate but the goods. If the candidate is suitable for their purposes, and the party puts him upon a platform that expresses those purposes, then they are for him, otherwise they will wait. They would rather bear the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of.

That is the temper of America. There is a great deal of talk in America, but it is, when all is said, one of the most inveterately conservative people in the world. Americans talk much more freely than they act, particularly in the field of politics. And in a country knitted together with the most delicate and intricate fibres of business, the one thing that is most dreaded is ill-considered experiment. America is not afraid. America is not afraid of acting on principle, of moving, of changing, but is afraid of changing by uncalculated courses. It does not want schemes the operation of which it cannot foresee the effect of, and therefore it always wants a bill of particulars, and we are getting ready to present a bill of particulars. For example, round about this core of all questions which lies in the tariff, lie all these other questions, many of which we sum up under the general term of the corporation question, the trust question.

Nobody can fail to see, no matter how clearly you perceive the evils that have come upon the country by the use of them,—nobody can fail to see that modern business is going to be done by corporations. *The old time of individual competition is probably gone by.* It

may come back; I don't know; it will not come back within our time, I dare say. We will do business henceforth when we do it on a great and successful scale, by means of corporations. But what we are afraid of, as we have said in the Sherman Act, is such use of corporations as will be in restraint of trade; that is, such use as will establish monopoly. Very well, we have got to know what particular things do establish monopoly; because if we merely say "this concern is so big that it looks to us like monopoly" that isn't satisfactory. I am not afraid of any corporation, no matter how big. I am afraid of any corporation, however small, that is bad, that is rotten at the core, whose practices and actions are in restraint of trade. So that the thing we are after is not reckoning size in measuring capacity for damage, but measuring and comprehending the exact damage done. Very well, we are getting details. For example, in the Stanley investigation, in the investigation connected with the trial of the meat packers, and in the investigation I hope will be pushed forward in connection with the so-called money trust (great applause) we are going to find out how the thing is done.

For example, take the meat men, I have some friends connected in a subordinate way as employees of that great industry, some college men who are quick to see and intelligent to comprehend, and once or twice when I have made remarks that did not seem complimentary to the meat trust these gentlemen have written to me and asked if I was aware of the fact that the operations were as a matter of fact yielding this concern only a very minute fraction of profit, and there would be no profit in it at all if they didn't command so large a proportion of the product as to make the sum total considerable. And I didn't know what to say until I read the testimony taken in the trial of the meat packers at Chicago, and then I found out that these gentlemen buy cattle on the hoof, as everybody knows, and they charge up all the expenses of all their operations to the meat; and they

sell the hides and the hoofs, and the parts, whatever they may be, that yield very valuable glue, and all the by-products, which in their sum total are extremely profitable, without any charges being entered against them in their books. So that we are paying for meat in order to enable them to sell hides and determine the price of shoes. (Applause.) Now that is a valuable inside piece of information. They can't any longer impose upon us by showing us their books upon fresh meat (or meat that isn't fresh that comes out of cold storage). That is what I call one of the items in the bill of particulars. We know also by their own testimony it isn't necessary for them to combine themselves in a corporation in order to fix prices; it is only necessary to have a gentleman's understanding, and have correspondence through a secretary agreed upon, and that this secretary, once every so often, shall send out a circular suggesting a price for meat, and this suggestion be taken kindly and acted upon. (Laughter.) That suggestion is perfectly arbitrary; they can establish the price of meat upon an absolutely non-competitive basis.

Very well, we know what the meat packers are doing and what the steel men are doing, and what all these other men are doing. We have got now some of the transactions and the form in which they are carried through. It seems to me that now, therefore, we are ready to proceed to business, so far as we see what we are about. We are not going to lay about us in any blind and vague way, but we are going to do something like this, not proposing this as a measure but merely as an illustration. If you want to cure men of joy riding you won't break up their automobiles, but catch the men that do the joy riding and see that these very useful and pleasant vehicles of our modern life are left for legitimate uses. If you want to stop joy riding in corporations—for that is what is being done (laughter and applause)—you will not break up the corporations; we may need to use them; but you will break up the game,

namely, that use of corporations. I dare say the judges and other lawyers present,—if it is true that judges are still lawyers (laughter) will agree with me that this is at any rate feasible; with the necessary legislation, we can say that a corporation, so long as it acts within its charter, or is within the limits of the law, is something we won't look inside of. We will regard it as long as it is within its legitimate uses as a body corporate that has its own separate entity, and into the details of whose organization we won't pry. We will hold it responsible so far only as a body, an unbroken body, but the minute somebody inside begins to use it for purposes he has no right to use it for, then we are going to turn it inside out and see who is inside. And we are going to establish this principle that with regard to breaches of the law we will deal not with corporations but with individuals, that we don't know corporations, that we never heard of them, when we are dealing with breaches of the law. We can oblige every corporation to file with the proper officer of the law a sworn analysis of the way its business is done, which will be conclusive—not merely presumptive evidence—upon any trial, an analysis which it cannot controvert upon trial; which will show that such and such transactions are ordered by the president, such and such transactions are ordered by a committee of its board, certain other transactions are ordered by the board as a whole, others by its first vice-president, and so on down through the analysis. Then when a wrong is committed we will turn to the analysis and find the officer who according to that analysis ordered that particular thing done, and we will indict him *not as an officer of the corporation but as an individual who used that corporation for something that was illegal*. Then you say, we will find out he was a dummy. Very well, go on, push the trial, draw in all the collateral evidence and find whose dummy he was, then amend the indictment and include the gentlemen whose dummy he was, whether it happens to be an official connected with

that corporation or not, because in this process we have nothing to do with corporations, we are finding men. You know the old cynical French maxim, when any man is running an incalculable course "*cherchez la femme*" (find the woman). Now we must establish the maxim "find the man." Anything that is wrong must have originated with some person in particular. When you have found that person and given him a season to think it over in the penitentiary (applause) the thing will be stopped, and business will be relieved of the embarrassment of breaking up its organization in order to stop these practices.

Do you see any other way to avoid interrupting the natural and normal processes of American business? If you will do this then all the prohibitions of your law will work, no man will use corporations in restraint of trade; and item by item we can put in *our statutes what constitutes restraint of trade*, not leaving it to courts for generalizations which may fit some cases and not others. Then we shall have a programme which need disturb no honest man, and will begin to see the map of the thing. I want to see the map of our corporate life. You don't know the highways of it, you don't know any of the intricacies of it. The difficulty in this country is not altogether that we have big corporations, but that these big corporations are combined with one another, not by law, but by the fact that their directorates interlace in every direction and that the same combinations of men control the majority of the stock in corporation after corporation.

No corporation can ever get big enough to make the Government of the United States afraid, but all of them combined might in some sinister and fateful day make the Government of the United States subserve them. So that you have got to disentangle this puzzle; you have got to find where the lines of personal responsibility interlace; you have got to lift these persons up and put them under cross-examination as to what they are doing

with the business of the country, not for the purpose of gibbeting them, not for the purpose of putting them under contempt and mortifications, but for the purpose of saving the country and saving its business.

I am not aware that I cherish in my heart any bitter feelings toward any individual concerned in these matters. Many of these men do not see the consequences of the thing they are doing. They are just as patriotic so far as they have examined their own consciences as either you or I. They don't comprehend. We have got to wake them to the things that are to be feared, and then devise the particular methods by which they are to be corrected. We are not vindictive, but determined men, with open eyes.

For in the meantime what is going on? When I hear gentlemen say that politics ought to let business alone, I feel like inviting them to first consider whether business is letting politics alone. It is a two-sided matter; if you will quit, we will. If you will stop trying to determine elections by campaign contributions; if you will stop encouraging bi-partisan political machinery, so that it is worth your while to contribute to both campaign funds; if you will stop making the control of legislatures a business proposition, then you will find that in the most complete and only effectual way you have disentangled business from politics.

The initial steps are taken in lobbies, they are not taken in the councils of statesmen; they are taken in those secret and whispered conferences that go on in almost every legislative lobby in this country, where men are shown that it is to their material interest—whether directly or indirectly—that they shall vote as interested parties desire them to vote. These great leagues of business, in other words, are not merely leagues to command markets, but they are often also leagues to command legislation.

And so the view widens, does it not? So the country is asking itself, who is represented in our representative

assemblies? In some states the people are represented, thank God, but in some states they are not represented. In some states the legislatures are secretly and privately controlled. Now, are you going to stir the blood of those people in those states by preaching a eulogy on representative institutions? If they have found out election after election that to vote one ticket or the other is to choose between tweedledum and tweedledee; if they know no matter how they vote things don't get better at the State capital, how are you going to stir their patriotism with the tradition of the great representative institutions in this country? They will laugh in your face, they will say: "Are you so young, so unsophisticated as to suppose you know what you are talking about? Show us representative institutions to worship and we will be the first to fall on our knees, but we want to know who are represented."

There are two or three theories of government in this country. Don't deceive yourself by supposing all the people in this country believe in democratic government, because they do not. You have only to listen to the utterances of very distinguished Republican speakers to see that they do not believe and do not pretend to believe in popular government. They will tell you they do not believe the judgment of the people can be trusted. Are you going to take counsel from these gentlemen as to the preservation of our representative institutions when they don't want them to represent the great body, the rank and file of the people? I don't know whether I was born so, or learned so, or what happened to me, but I know this, that the deepest conviction I have, arising out of observation and experience is this, that I would rather take the judgment of the rank and file than the judgment of the men who have become absorbed and successful as the leaders in great undertakings. (Applause.)

I want to ask these gentlemen this query: What sustains business in the United States? What is it that

makes the United States prosperous? Is it that we have great captains of industry? What would they do without the cunning and skill, the muscle and the indomitable aspiring hope of the American people? If these people were to find hope dying out of their hearts, they will be dumb-driven beasts, and your enterprises will fall for lack of the very breath that sustains them. (Applause.)

If you want to find whether a nation is prosperous or not, ask the men who are on the make what they hope and what they fear. Go to the country districts and ask anxious fathers who are looking for openings for their sons where they expect to get them in, where they find doors open and where they find doors shut. Go to the places where men are making earnings and see whether they dread or confidently look forward to the future, and then you will find whether America is waxing or waning, for if these men are confident, full of hope, if they know they are going to have free chances, if they know that the doors of opportunity are open to them, if they know they are going to get fair treatment wherever they go, then America can conquer the world of enterprise by means of their hope. But if you find, what you do find, men everywhere asking themselves whether the doors of opportunity have not been locked in their faces, then you will have to take a new reckoning as to the future of America.

What was it that they proposed to investigate in Congress the other day? Not a money trust in the ordinary sense that anybody is hiding or hoarding money anywhere. Men who have money are not fools enough not to want to use it, because it does not yield them anything if it is not used. What is suspected is this: that nobody can get large loans in this country to start those large enterprises by which alone our industry thrives, unless he will consent to take certain gentlemen in with him who furnish the money; that the privileged circle is closed, and that while you can

get all the little credits you please in your local banks you can't get your big credits where the reserves of the country are kept, except on the terms of the gentlemen who stand guard over these reserves. (Applause.) That is what is charged. And it is not charged without evidence. It is not charged without abundant evidence. Therefore, if only those who are chosen at the top have the right of way in, what is going to happen to America? Did you ever hear of a nation that was renewed from the top? Did you ever hear of a nation that was not made virile, that did not account for its youth by renewal from the bottom? Did you ever hear of a tree that drew its sap from its flowers? Does it now draw it from the dark and silent places of the soil? Does not a nation draw its power of renewal and enterprise, and all its future, from the ranks of the great body of unnamed men? And if you are going to discourage these men; if you are going to put the chill of fear in their hearts, then American captains of industry can whistle for their future, and they will whistle in a wilderness. (Applause.)

I am the friend of American business, because I know where its foundations are laid, and where they are weak; and those foundations are solid only when laid in the confidence of the common people. (Great applause.)

A Democrat? Why a man does not understand history who isn't a Democrat. A man doesn't understand enterprise who isn't a Democrat. And let me tell you this: Democracy is not merely a matter of programmes, it is a matter of sympathy and insight. It depends upon whether your heart is in connection with the great heart of the people or not. It does not depend upon whether you can cunningly devise a platform that looks firm and good or not. You can build a flimsy platform and stand on it successfully, provided its basis is in the right kind of spirit. It is a matter of seeing—not from your eyes out, but from the eyes of other men

in. Getting the vision that is in the back of the other man's head is the thing; getting the hope that is the universal hope; getting that impulse that is the common human impulse, forward. This world has been swept by wave after wave of Democratic impulse. It is being swept by it now. The great waters are rising, rising, and nothing prevents their fertilizing the valleys except that stubborn, stupid stand-pat dam. (Great applause.)

What fills my imagination, therefore, gentlemen, is this, that we are at the threshold of a great enterprise, the enterprise of retranslating the liberties of America into the terms of our lives as we now actually live them. The party that can do that first is the party that will rule this country for the next generation, and the party that misses it, that doesn't do it, won't rule it now and will never rule it. There are competitors. We aren't the only candidates in the field, we Democrats. Illumination has penetrated the Republican ranks. You don't describe a Republican by merely calling him a Republican. There are various kinds of Republicans; some of them are so attenuated in their doctrines that you can hardly recognize them as such, but all of them still stubbornly cling to that old name, for this reason—I believe in my heart this is the real reason—these men don't come over and call themselves Democrats because they believe the Republican party is the only party that has shown practical genius in understanding and administering the affairs of the Nation; that is the reason they claim the title. They say, yes, we agree with the Democrats but the Democrats don't know how to do it. Yes, our programmes are the same, but do you suppose they know how to carry them out? That is the basis of it, and the deuce of it is that so much of the country agrees with them in it. They agree that they haven't yet sufficient evidence that the Democrats know how to carry that programme out, or clearly know what the programme is.

When I sit down and compare my views with those of a Progressive Republican I can't see what the difference is, except that he has a sort of pious feeling about the doctrine of protection, which I have never felt. (Applause and laughter.) He will always insist, "Oh yes, I am a protectionist, but the tariff needs revision." Now, I don't say anything about protection. I don't care anything about protection. The only thing I want to know is which duty and how much of a duty is serviceable to the country? That is all I want to know. I don't care a rap about the doctrine of protection. It isn't a scientific doctrine; neither is the doctrine of free trade. But the administration of the government of a nation is a very practical thing, and we intend to do, without any feeling of regret or piety of any kind, that which is necessary to do for the promotion of the prosperity of the United States. That is all. (Applause.)

Now they think that is profane. They say: "Just suppose I should vote the Democratic ticket, what would the old man say?" I don't like to say anything unparliamentary about the old man, but I would let the old man take care of himself and vote the way the country seemed to demand in the year 1912 without reference to what may have been thought to have been demanded in the year 1846, for example; for I don't happen to have shared any of the responsibilities of the year 1846, but I do happen to share some of the responsibility for the year 1912, and, therefore, it is that year, and that year alone, which at present interests me.

Very well, then, we have got to show the Progressive Republican that he can come over without being ashamed of it and without being uneasy about the consequences. He is ready to come over if you will only give him polite language and the right sort of encouragement and a hospitable reception. But try to push him over the line and he balks; he balks at the label. If you ask him why, he says, "The Democratic Party hasn't in the past stood for the things I believe in." He

will assert, foolishly I think, but nevertheless he will assert it, that it has not been a sufficiently practical party. That is what he will tell you. That is why I am so intensely interested in having the country understand that we know what we are about, and mean to do those things we have specified. That will remove some obstacles, some questions.

Mr. Louis Pettigrew, of Charleston, S. C., a very commanding figure of a past generation, was a man of humour, as well as force of character. He lost a case one day in court and his client followed him out of the court house and abused him for everything that was vile, called him a thief and a liar, but the old man didn't pay any attention to him until he called him a Federalist; then he knocked him down. Somebody asked him why he did that, and pointed out that that was the least offensive thing he had said. "Yes, damn him," he said, "but it was the only true thing he said." (Laughter.)

Now I went quietly on my way with smiles from many quarters, until on a certain day, in the city of Harrisburg, I happened to let it slip that I knew there was a corner in credit. I said that the most serious trust of all was the money trust. And I know that was so, because it drew blood. They hadn't winced until then, and ever since then they have said, this man ought to be put out of business, and I dare say from their point of view he ought. I quite agree with them. Because if those things are true they must be stopped, but nobody need fear anything who is not implicated and engaged in them. Therefore, let every man who doesn't want them touched stand up and get counted. It will shorten the process of identification later on.

When you get your specific programme, these gentlemen are going to balk. They are going to say you will destroy business. You are not going to destroy business, you are only going to break up monopoly of enterprise, you will be letting in new men, new light, new

energy and new prospects of achievement. I am interested in nothing so much as releasing the energy of the country. That, to my mind, is the whole task of politics, to release the honest energy of the country.

When I think over what we are engaged in doing in the field of politics, I conceive it this way, men who are behind any interest always unite in organization, and the danger in every country is that these special interests will be the only things organized, and that the common interest will be unorganized against them. *The business of government is to organize the common interest against the special interests.* (Applause.) That is the reason it is worth while going around and trying to expound—no matter how imperfectly—what the situation is, so that you may draw these threads of common thought into one pattern, so that you may organize the general mind for the comprehension of the situation. As soon as the common mind is organized then no special interest can hold its own against it.

This is the thing to which we must challenge ourselves; this is the enterprise of the so-called radicalism of our time. If I am informed correctly as to the meaning of the word radical, it has something to do with roots. Now the false radical pulls up roots to see if the thing is growing; the true radical goes down to the roots to see that the soil is wholesome (applause) and that the tap-root is getting the pure nutriment that ought to come from the soil. That is the kind of radicalism I believe in, recultivation, thence reformation of the whole process.

In the presence of such things, gentlemen, what ought we to do? Why we ought, above all things else, to get together. (Great applause.) This is a national conception, a national enterprise, a national opportunity and a national hope. Will any man dare thrust his individual ambition in the way? Will any man dare, because he would be the leader, say that unless he is the leader he will not coöperate? Will any set of men say that

unless they can have their way in doing the thing they will not coöperate? Ah, gentlemen, the stake is too big, the condemnation for failure is too overwhelming. We shall be judged for a generation as we act in 1912. If we allow ourselves to fall apart by reason of any jealousies, if we put any obstacle in the way of the universal movement towards this happy goal, then all the rest of our lives we shall know that we made it impossible for Democracy to have a fresh fruitage in America.

And what would that mean? It would mean the old vision gone. It would mean that those old days were forever gone when men forgot their own fortunes in order to promote the common interest; those days gone by when America lifted her head so blithely and so bravely among the nations, and drew the gaze of mankind to her own fair countenance; that this countenance now wears the mask of self-interest; that men find covert behind it, and dare not display their passion for self-interest; and that America has taken the common road of the nations that go down because they have forgotten the destiny of man. (Great applause and ovation.)

WHAT JEFFERSON WOULD DO

PART OF ADDRESS DELIVERED AT JEFFERSON DAY BANQUET, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, APRIL 13, 1912. FROM "THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, PP. 4747-4748.

THE circumstances of our day are so utterly different from those of Jefferson's day that it may seem nothing less than an act of temerity to attempt to say what Jefferson would do if he were now alive and guiding us with his vision and command. The world we live in no longer divided into neighbourhoods and communities; the lines of the telegraph thread it like nerves uniting a single organism. The ends of the earth touch one another and exchange impulse and purpose. America has swung out of her one-time isolation and has joined the family of nations. She is linked to mankind by every tie of blood and circumstance. She is more cosmopolitan in her make-up than any other nation of the world; is enriched by a greater variety of energy drawn from strong peoples the world over. She is not the simple, homogeneous, rural nation that she was in Jefferson's time, making only a beginning at development and the conquest of fortune; she is great and strong; above all she is infinitely varied; her affairs are shot through with emotion and the passion that comes with strength and growth and self-confidence. We live in a new and strange age and reckon with new affairs alike in economics and politics of which Jefferson knew nothing.

And yet we may remind ourselves that Jefferson's mind did not move in a world of narrow circumstances;

it did not confine itself to the conditions of a single race or a single continent. It had commerce with the thought of men old and new; it had moved in an age of ample air, in which men thought not only of nations but of mankind, in which they saw not only individual policies, but a great field of human need and of human fortune. Neither did he think in abstract terms, as did the men with whom he had had such stimulating commerce of thought in France. His thought was not speculation; it was the large generalization that comes from actual observation and experience. He had had contact with plain men of many kinds, as well as with philosophers and foreign statesmen. He thought in a way that his neighbours in Virginia could understand, in a way which illuminated their own lives and ambitions for them. And though he was deemed a philosopher, he was nevertheless the idol of the people, for he somehow heard and voiced what they themselves could have said and purposed and conceived. For all the largeness of his thought, it was bathed in an everyday atmosphere; it belongs to the actual, workaday world; it has its feet firmly on circumstances and fact and the footing all men are accustomed to who reflect at all on their lives and the lives of their neighbours and compatriots. He was holding up for the illumination of the things of which he spoke a light which he had received out of the hands of old philosophers. But the rays of that light as he held it fell upon actual American life; they did not lose themselves vaguely in space; they were for the guidance of men's feet every day.

We may be sure, therefore, that had Jefferson lived in our time he would have acted upon the facts as they are. In the first place, because he would have seen them as they actually are, and in the second place because he would have been interested in theory only as he could adjust it to the reality of the life about him. He would not have been content with a philosophy which he could fit together only within the walls of his study.

To determine what Jefferson would have done, therefore, requires only that we should ourselves clearly see the facts of our time as they are, whether in the field of government or in the field of our economic life, and that we should see how Jefferson's principle of the rule and authority of the people stands related to these facts. We are constantly quoting Jefferson's fundamental thought: it was that no policy could last whose foundation is narrow, based upon the privileges and authority of a few, but that its foundations must be as broad as the interests of all the men and families and neighbourhoods that live under it. Monopoly, private control, the authority of privilege, the concealed mastery of a few men cunning enough to rule without showing their power—he would have at once announced them rank weeds which were sure to choke out all wholesome life in the fair garden of affairs. If we can detect these things in our time; if we can see them and describe them and touch them as they are, then we know what Jefferson would have done. He would have moved against them, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, sometimes openly, sometimes subtly; but whether he merely mined about them or struck directly at them, he would have set systematic war against them at the front of all his purpose.

As regards the real influences that control our Government, he would have asked first of all: Are they determined by the direct and open contacts of opinion? He would have found that they were not; that, on the contrary, our Government as it has developed has supplied secret influences with a hundred coverts and ambushes; that the opinion of the Nation makes little noise in the committee rooms of legislatures; that it is certain large, special interests and not the people who maintain the lobby; that the argument of the lobby is oftentimes louder and more potent than the argument of the hustings and the floor of the representative body. He would have found, moreover, that until very recent

years opinion had had very difficult access, if any at all, in most seasons, of the private conferences in which candidates for office were chosen, candidates for both administrative and legislative office, and that in the private conferences where it was determined who should be nominated and, therefore, of course, who should be elected, the same influences had established themselves which ruled in the legislative lobby. That money, the money that kept the whole organization together, flowed in, not from the general body of the people, but from those who wished to determine in their own private interest what governors and legislators should and should not do.

It is plain in such circumstances what he would have insisted, as we are insisting now, that if there could be found no means by which the authority and purpose of the people could break into these private places and establish their rule again, if the jungle proved too thick for the common thought to explore, if the coverts where the real power lurked were too difficult to find, the forces of genuine democracy must move around them instead of through them, must surround and beleaguer them, must establish a force outside of them by which they can be dominated or overawed. It is with the discussion of just such affairs that the public mind is now preoccupied and engrossed. Debate is busy with them from one end of the land to the other.

As regards the economic policy of the country it is perfectly plain that Mr. Jefferson would have insisted upon a tariff fitted to actual conditions, by which he would have meant not the interests of the few men who find access to the hearings of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate, but the interests of the business men and manufacturers and farmers and workers and professional men of every kind and class. He would have insisted that the schedules should be turned wrong side out and every item of their contents subjected to the

general scrutiny of all concerned. It is plain, also, that he would have insisted upon a currency system elastic, indeed, and suited to the varying circumstances of the money market in a great industrial and trading Nation, but absolutely fortified and secured against a central control, the influence of coteries, and leagues of banks to which it is now in constant danger of being subjected. He would have known that the currency question is not only an economic question but a political question, and that, above all things else, control must be in the hands of those who represent the general interest and not in the hands of those who represent the things we are seeking to guard against.

In the general field of business his thought would, of course, have gone about to establish freedom, to throw business opportunity open at every point to new men, to destroy the processes of monopoly, to exclude the poison of special favours, to see that, whether big or little, business was not dominated by anything but the law itself, and that that law was made in the interest of plain, unprivileged men everywhere.

Jefferson's principles are sources of light because they are not made up of pure reason, but spring out of aspiration, impulse, vision, sympathy. They burn with the fervour of the heart; they wear the light of interpretation he sought to speak in, the authentic terms of honest, human ambition. And the law in his mind was the guardian of all legitimate ambition. It was the great umpire standing by to see that the game was honourably and fairly played in the spirit of generous rivalry and open the field free to every sportsmanlike contestant.

Constitutions are not inventions. They do not create our liberty. They are rooted in life, in fact, in circumstance, in environment. They are not the condition of our liberty but its expression. They result from our life; they do not create it. And so there beats in them always, if they live at all, this pulse of the large

life of humanity. As they yield and answer to that they are perfected and exalted.

Indeed, the whole spirit of government is the spirit of men of every kind banded together in a generous combination seeking the common good. Nations are exalted, parties are made great as they partake of this aspiration and are permitted to see this vision of the Nation as a whole struggling toward a common ideal and a common hope.

We as Democrats are particularly bound at this season of expectation, and of confidence to remember that it is only in this spirit and with this vision that we can ever serve either the Nation or ourselves. As we approach the time when we are to pick out a President—for I believe that is to be our privilege—we should fix our thought on this one great fact, that no man is big enough or great enough to be President alone. He will be no stronger than his party. His strength will lie in the counsel of his comrades. His success will spring out of the union and energy and unselfish coöperation of his party, and his party must be more than half the Nation. It must include, and genuinely include, men of every class and race and disposition. If he be indeed the representative of his people, there may be vouchsafed to him through them something of the vision to conceive what Jefferson conceived and understood—how the vision may be carried into reality.

GOVERNMENT IN RELATION TO BUSINESS

ADDRESS AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE ECONOMIC CLUB IN THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 23, 1912. FROM "THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD," 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION, VOL. XLVIII, APPENDIX, 392-396.

MR. PRESIDENT, ladies and gentlemen: I listened with a great deal of interest to the very gracious introduction that you have just heard, but with some skepticism upon one of the statements. Mr. Milburn said that everybody here knew what I am, but that depends upon which newspaper he has read. Most persons are so thoroughly uninformed as to my opinions that I have concluded that the only things they have not read are my speeches.

But I want to say that it is with a great deal of pleasure that I find myself here to-night, turning out of the troubled paths of practical politics to come into a place where you have the purpose and the appearance of deliberation. [Applause.] I have never believed entirely that there was very much thinking upon general public questions done in the city of New York; not because there are not some of the finest thinking machines in New York that are to be found anywhere, but because the brains of New York are so devoted throughout long days to special undertakings that there is only the evening, when fatigue has conquered you, in which to think about the affairs of the country. And, therefore, it seems to me that men of eminent success in the fields of business are, above all others, under a moral obligation to get together and talk of things which do not

concern their own private undertakings. It is refreshing at this particular time to have an opportunity to discuss not personalities but the questions of the day. [Applause.] I was in a New England city, not many weeks ago, which had just been visited on the two preceding days by two militant candidates for nomination. I had occasion at the opening of my speech to say: "After what you people have been through the last two days perhaps you would like to know what the questions of the day are." I was interested to find that instead of a mere smile I got out of that audience that had dropped in from the street a spontaneous cheer. They felt refreshed at the idea that they might hear something discussed which did not have the bitterness of personality in it.

And yet, it is a serious fact, ladies and gentlemen, that it is very difficult to discuss those very questions of the day without seeming to bring a touch of passion and bitterness into them. We talk a great deal about the radicalism of our time, but the radicalism, if you will analyze it, does not consist in the things that are proposed, but in the things that are disclosed. It is in the analysis of existing conditions that your public speakers seem to be radical. How shall our difficulties be settled after we have excited our minds by disclosing those conditions? We are so busy with the preliminary controversy with regard to what the real state of the facts is that we carry that extreme over into the other area, which should be an area of calmness, of deliberation, namely, the area of the discussion of what shall be done in the circumstances.

Very little has been said about that, but a great deal has been said, and sometimes intemperately said, about the real state of affairs. Nowhere, it seems to me, in the country more than in New York ought we to be very frank with one another, because in New York, taking you in the aggregate, you know what the facts are, and if you are frank with one another and take the public

into your confidence you may be instrumental in instructing the country concerning what it must found its thoughts upon.

When you discuss the relation between government and business, you touch at once the seat of irritation. I have not found a single audience in this vicinity in which the business men were not up in arms at being interfered with by the action of the Government—in which they were not to be found a great many men who said, "If the politicians would only let us alone the country would prosper and all business would settle down to a sound and steady condition." They have been critics of Government because Government would not let business rest and be free. Now, no study of the history of the Government can be candidly made which will not lead to this conclusion—that the very thing that Government cannot let alone is business, for business underlies every part of our life; the foundation of our lives, of our spiritual lives included, is economic.

I heard a very interesting preacher say several months ago, in preaching upon the sequence of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer, that it was significant that our Saviour's first petition was, "Give us this day our daily bread," for no man can rationally live, worship, or love his neighbour on an empty stomach; and if he is in doubt where the food is to come from, if he fears he will be without work and sustenance, it is impossible that he should have a rational attitude toward the life of the community or toward his own life. Therefore it is the object of Government to make those adjustments of life which will put every man in a position to claim his normal rights as a living human being.

Government cannot take its hand off of business. Government must regulate business, because that is the foundation of every other relationship, particularly of the political relationship. It is futile, therefore, to have the politicians take their hands off. They may blunder at the business, but they cannot give it up.

They may make fundamental mistakes—they will make a great many if you do not frankly assist and instruct them—but they must go forward whether instructed or not.

I think one of the few grounds of discouragement in our days—for I do not think there are many—is that business men and the lawyers who guide business men are jealously withholding their counsel from those who try to guide affairs, withholding it as those who withdraw in suspicion, as if they should say, "We cannot parley with those men; their ears are not candidly open to us"; and so there has grown up on one side and on the other an attitude of distrust which does not augur well for a settlement of delicate questions.

The whole problem of our life, gentlemen, is to understand one another, the whole problem of politics is to get together. Politics is not a mechanical problem, politics is not a problem of setting interests off against each other upon such a plan as that one cannot harm the other. The problem of politics is coöperation. The organic coöperation of the parts is the only basis for just Government; unless we come to an understanding, there can be no Government. No man can hold off from affairs and count himself a faithful citizen of the Republic.

I have been interested in one piece of speculative explanation which, perhaps, I might turn aside for a moment to call to your attention.

One of the chief benefits I used to derive from being president of a university was that I had the pleasure of entertaining thoughtful men from all over the world. I cannot tell you how much dropped into my granary by their presence. I had been casting around in my thought for something by which to draw several parts of my political ideas together when it was my good fortune to entertain a very interesting Scotchman who had been devoting himself to the philosophical thought of the seventeenth century. His talk was so engaging

that it was delightful to hear him speak of anything, and presently there came out of the unexpected region of his thought the thing I had been waiting for. He called my attention to the fact that in every generation all sorts of speculation and thinking tend to fall under the formula of the dominant thought of the age that has preceded that.

For example, after the Newtonian theory of the universe had been developed, almost all thinking tended to express itself upon the analogies of the Newtonian theory, and since the Darwinian theory has reigned amongst us everybody tries to express what he wishes to expound in the terms of development and accommodation to environment. Now, it came to me as this interesting man talked, that the Constitution of the United States had been made under the dominion of the Newtonian theory. You have only to read the papers of the Federalist to see it written on every page. They speak of the "checks and balances" of the Constitution and use to express their idea the simile of the organization of the universe, and particularly of the solar system—how by the attraction of gravitation the various parts are held in their orbits, and represent Congress, the judiciary, and the President as a sort of imitation of the solar system.

No Government, of course, is a mechanism; no mechanical theory will fit any Government in the world, because Governments are made up of human beings, and all the calculations of mechanical theory are thrown out of adjustment by the intervention of the human will. Society is an organism, and every Government must develop according to its organic forces and instincts. I do not wish to make the analysis tedious; I will merely ask you, after you go home, to think over this proposition; that what we have been witnessing for the past hundred years is the transformation of a Newtonian constitution into a Darwinian constitution. [Applause.] The place where the strongest will is present

will be the seat of sovereignty. If the strongest will is present in Congress, then Congress will dominate the Government; if the strongest guiding will is in the Presidency, the President will dominate the Government; if a leading and conceiving mind like Marshall's presides over the Supreme Court of the United States, he will frame the Government, as he did. There are no checks and balances in the mechanical sense in the Constitution; historical circumstances have determined the character of our Government. While we were forming the Government—that is to say, down to a hundred years ago, when the War of 1812 was being fought, while we were finding our place among the nations of the world, while our most critical relations were over foreign relations—the Presidency necessarily stood at the front of affairs. You will find all the early Presidents directly forming the Government. But after we got our standing among the peoples of the world—from the close of the War of 1912 down to the beginning of the Spanish-American War, with the exception of the interval of the Civil War—the Presidents count for very little. There was then a free, miscellaneous domestic development that was insusceptible of guidance; it was spontaneous; it sprang up unbidden in every part of the country; the place of common counsel was the Congress of the United States; and the Congress overshadowed the President.

One of the things I have always felt that Webster and Clay did not see was that they would diminish their prestige and power if they left the Senate of the United States and entered the Presidency. Why the men who were leading the Chamber that was dominating the Nation should have wished to be in the chair which was overshadowed by that Chamber I have never been able to understand.

But then came the Spanish-American War. Since then America has stood up, looked about her, drawn the veil of preoccupation from her eyes, and beheld herself a great power among the peoples of the world; and ever

since that moment the President has, of necessity, become the guiding force in the affairs of the country. It was inevitable, and it now will, no doubt, remain inevitable because we are now in the same case with all other Governments. We cannot shut our eyes to foreign questions—particularly now when we see some prospect of breaking our isolation by lowering the tariff wall between us and other nations; now that we see some possibility of flinging our own flag out upon the seas again [applause] and taking possession of our rightful share of the trade of the world.

We have found that the private debates of committees and the haphazard creations of legislation in bodies which no one leads do not suffice to clear our affairs. We must have some central points of guidance. This is the adjustment to environment; this is the Darwinization of the Government of the United States. There is no violence in the process; there is no violence to any principle of our Constitution; because, as has been said so often, the beauty of that Constitution is that it did not predict anything, but left everything possible by the very simplicity and elasticity of its make-up. If the Constitution of the United States had gone into the detail that some of our State constitutions go into, we would have to change it every 10 years, on the average, as we have changed them.

Now, all of this that seems pertinent to the matter which I would now bring to your attention is that there must be some guiding and adjusting force—some single organ of intelligent communication between the whole Nation and the Government which determines the policy of that Nation. And, inasmuch as that determination must turn upon economics—that is to say, upon business questions—it is absolutely necessary that we should analyze our present situation with regard to nothing but the facts.

Perhaps I may sum my idea up in this way: The question of statesmanship is a question of taking all the

economic interests of every part of the country into the reckoning. Every time any change is to be made in economic policies it must be made by an all-around accommodation and adjustment. Is that possible? There is no man, there is no group of men, who comprehend the entire business interests of this country; it is inconceivable that there should be. At best we can make a very rough and ready approximation of it; and in order that you may make even an approximation, it is necessary that there should be a free play of opinion from every part of the country upon the sensitive centre at Washington. Just as soon as one part begins to press harder than another, then the prospect of justice is uncertain, the task of statesmanship is rendered just so much the more difficult. All the sensitive parts of the Government ought to be open to all the active parts of it. So soon as a small group of the active parts organize for the purpose of seeing to it that the Government hears and heeds only them, then the task becomes impossible.

Let me illustrate it by the tariff, because every business question in this country, whether you think so or not, gentlemen, comes back, no matter how much you put on the brakes, to the question of the tariff.

I hear on every side that the tariff was the "dominant" issue. Why, you cannot escape from it no matter in which direction you go. The tariff is situated in relation to other questions like Boston Common in the old arrangement of that interesting city. I remember seeing once, in *Life*, a picture of a man standing at the door of one of the railway stations of Boston and inquiring of a Bostonian the way to the Common. "Take any of these streets," was the reply, "either direction." Now, as the Common was related to the former winding streets of Boston, so the tariff question is related to the economic questions of our day. Take any direction and you will sooner or later get to the Common.

In discussing the tariff, you may start at the centre and can go in any direction you please.

Let us illustrate by standing at the centre, the Common itself. You know as far back as 1828, when they did not know anything about politics as compared with what we know now, a tariff bill was passed which was called the "tariff of abominations," because it did not have any beginning or end or plan. It had no traceable pattern in it. It was as if the demands of everybody in the United States had all been thrown indiscriminately into one basket and that basket presented as a piece of legislation. It has been a general scramble, and everybody who scrambled hard enough had been taken care of in the tariff schedules resulting. It was an abominable thing to the thoughtful men of that day, because no man guided it, shaped it, or tried to make an equitable system out of it. That was bad enough, but at least everybody had an open door through which to scramble for his advantage. It was a go-as-you please, free-for-everybody struggle, and anybody who could get to Washington and say he represented an important business interest could be heard by the Committee on Ways and Means. We have a very different state of affairs now. The Committee on Ways and Means and the Finance Committee of the Senate discriminate by long experience among the persons whose counsel they are to take in respect to tariff legislation, because there has been substituted for this unschooled body of citizens that used to clamour at the doors of the Finance Committee and the Committee on Ways and Means one of the most interesting and able bodies of expert lobbyists that has ever been developed in the experience of any countrymen, who know so much about the matters they are talking of that you cannot put your knowledge into competition with theirs. Because they overwhelm you with their knowledge of detail you cannot discover wherein their scheme lies. They suggest the change of a fraction in a particular schedule and explain it to

you so plausibly that you cannot see that it means millions of dollars additional for the consumer of this country. Again they propose to put the carbon in our electric light in 2-foot pieces instead of 1-foot pieces and you do not see where you are getting sold, because you are not an expert and they are. They have calculated the whole thing beforehand; they have analyzed the whole detail and consequences, each one in his specialty. As compared with him the average unschooled, inexperienced business man has no possibility of competition. Instead of the old scramble, which was bad enough, you got the present expert control of the tariff schedules. Thus the relation between business and Government becomes not a matter of the exposure of all the sensitive parts of the Government to all the active parts of the people, but the special impression upon them of a particular organized force in the business world; moreover, so far as deliberation is concerned, its action, its motions, its actual purposes are secret. Why, it is notorious, for example, that many members of the Finance Committee of the Senate did not know the significance of the tariff schedules which were reported in the present tariff bill to the Senate, and members of the Senate who asked Mr. Aldrich direct questions for information were refused the information they sought, sometimes, I dare say, because he could not give it, and sometimes, I venture to say, because disclosure of the information would have embarrassed the passage of the measure. There were essential papers which could not be got at. Take that very interesting matter, that will-o'-the-wisp, known as "the cost of production." It is hard for any man who has ever studied economics at all to restrain a cynical smile when he is told that an intelligent body of his fellow-citizens are looking for "the cost of production" as a basis for tariff legislation. It is not the same in any one factory for two years together. It is not the same in one industry from one season to another.

It is not the same in one country at two different periods. It is constantly eluding your grasp. It does not exist as a scientific, demonstrable datum fact. But in order to carry out the extraordinary programme proposed in the late national platform of the Republican party it was necessary to go through the motions of finding out what it was. I am credibly informed that the Government of the United States requested several foreign Governments, among others the Government of Germany, to supply it with as reliable figures as possible concerning the cost of producing certain articles corresponding with those produced in the United States. The German Government, I understand, put the matter in the hands of certain of her manufacturers, who sent in just as complete answers as they could procure from their books. The information reached our Government during the course of the debate on the Payne-Aldrich bill and was transmitted—for the bill by that time had reached the Senate—to the Finance Committee of the Senate. But I am told—and I have no reason to doubt it—that it never came out of the pigeonholes of the committee. I do not know and that committee does not know what the information it contained was. When Mr. Aldrich was asked about it he first said it was not an official report from the German Government. Afterwards he said it was an impudent attempt on the part of the German Government to interfere with tariff legislation in the United States. But he never said what the cost of production disclosed by it was. If he had, it is more than likely that some of the tariff schedules would have been shown to be entirely unjustifiable.

Such instances show you just where the centre of gravity is—and it is a matter of gravity indeed, for it is a very grave matter. It lay during the last Congress in the one person who was the accomplished intermediary between the expert lobbyists and the legislation of Congress. I am not saying this in derogation of the

character of Mr. Aldrich. It is no concern of mine what kind of man Mr. Aldrich is. Now, particularly, that he has retired from public life, it is a matter of indifference. The point is that he, because of his long experience, his long handling of these delicate and private matters, was the usual and natural instrument by which the Congress of the United States informed itself, not as to the wishes of the people of the United States or of the rank and file of business men of the country, but as to the needs and arguments of the experts who came to arrange matters with the committees.

The moral of the whole matter is this: The business of the United States is not as a whole in contact with the Government of the United States. So soon as it is the matters which now give you, and justly give you, cause for uneasiness will disappear. Just so soon as the business of this country has general, free, welcome access to the councils of Congress, all the friction between business and politics will disappear.

There is another matter to which you must direct your attention, whether palatable or not. I do not talk about these things because they please my palate; I do not talk about them because I want to attack anybody or upset anyone; I talk about them because I wish to find out what the facts are; otherwise I will move like a man groping in darkness. If what I say is not true, then I am susceptible of correction.

You will notice from a recent investigation that things like this take place: A certain bank invests in certain securities. It appears from the evidence that the handling of these securities was very intimately connected with the maintenance of the price of a particular commodity. Nobody ought, and in normal circumstances nobody would, for a moment think of suspecting the managers of a great bank of making such an investment in order to help those who were conducting a particular business in the United States to maintain the price of their commodity; but the circumstances are not normal.

It is beginning to be believed that in the big business of this country nothing is disconnected from anything else. I do not mean in this particular instance to which I have referred and have in mind to draw any inference at all, for that would be unjust; but take any investment of an industrial character by a great bank. It is known that the directorate of that bank interlaces in personnel with 10, 20, 30, 40, 60 boards of directors of all sorts of railroads which handle commodities, of great groups of manufacturers which manufacture commodities, and of great merchants that distribute commodities; and the reason that a bank is under suspicion with regard to its investments is that it is at least considered possible it is playing the game of somebody who has nothing to do with banking, but with whom some of its directors are connected and joined in interest. The ground of unrest and uneasiness, in short, on the part of the public at large is the growing knowledge that many large undertakings are interlaced with one another, indistinguishable from one another in personnel.

Therefore, when a small group of men approach Congress in order to induce the committee concerned to concur in certain legislation, nobody knows the ramifications of the interests which those men represent, and therefore it is not the frank and open action of public opinion in public counsel, but every man is at any rate suspected of representing some other man and it is not known where the connection ceases. The whole question, therefore, with regard to the relation of government to business is this, gentlemen, not whether there should be a connection, not whether economic legislation should be carefully, studiously, prudently considered, but through whom is the connection to be maintained? Are the contacts to be general or special? Are they to be in the nature of general public opinion or in the nature of private control?

I am one of those who have been so fortunately circumstanced that I have had the opportunity to study

the way in which these things come about and therefore I do not suspect any man has deliberately planned these things. I am not so uninstructed and misinformed as to suppose that there is a malevolent combination somewhere to dominate the Government of the United States. I merely say that by certain processes, now well known, and perhaps natural in themselves, there has come about so extraordinary a concentration in the control of business in this country that the people are afraid that there will be a concentration in the control of government. That either is so or is not. If it is so, I beg you to observe that I am not a radical in frankly stating it. If it is not so, then I am desirous of your coöperation in order that I may be better informed; for I hold my mind open to every kind of information that I can get; and I have sense enough to know that no one man understands the United States.

I have met some gentlemen who professed they did. I have even met some business men who professed they held in their own single comprehension the business of the United States; but I am educated enough to know that they do not. Education has this useful effect, that it narrows of necessity the circles of one's egotism. No student knows his subject. The most he knows is where and how to find out the things he does not know with regard to it. That is also the position of a statesman. No statesman understands the whole country. He should make it his business to find out where he will get the information to understand at least a part of it at a time when dealing with complex affairs. What we need more than anything else, therefore, is experience meetings, like this—a universal revival of common counsel. That is what investigations by Congress are for. I do not understand their primary object to be to get anybody in jail or, if it be to find out which men ought to be in jail and which ought not, it is with the confident expectation that it will be discovered that the vast majority ought not to be. But the majority are under

suspicion until it is discovered who the minority are who ought to be in jail. No man could even get through a highly reputable company like this without investigation and put his finger on the innocent men. Not until everything about you is known is it possible to separate the sheep from the goats; but I have a confident expectation that the majority of the sheep would be enormous and it would not be necessary to shear them.

You remember it was told of a certain United States Senator that he was so cautious in his statements that he was the despair of every newspaper reporter who sought to interview him. On one occasion he was on a train which was passing through a grazing country and saw a flock of sheep in the field. It was rather late in the season. One of his companions remarked, "That is very singular, those sheep are not sheared yet." The Senator answered, "So it would appear, looking at them from this side."

Now, the shearing time has not come in the great matter we speak of, and I do not think it will come; but the time has come to determine who are responsible for the things that ought not to be done, who are to be set free to do as they please, for that is the problem of honest business and right politics. The problem of politics is, who should be restrained and who should not; and the problem of business is, who should be restrained and who should not. The whole analysis of modern conditions is a discussion of control. Do not get impatient, therefore, gentlemen, with those who go about preaching "We must return to the rule of the people." All they mean, if they mean anything rational, is that we must consent to let a majority into the game. We must not permit any system to go uncorrected which is based upon private understandings and expert testimony; we must not allow the few to determine what the policy of the country is to be. It is a question of access to our own Government. There are very few men within the sound of my voice who have any real access to the

Government of the United States. It is a matter of common counsel; it is a matter of united counsel; it is a matter of mutual comprehension; it is a matter of mutual understanding.

I wish these matters could be more discussed, but it is very difficult to discuss them nowadays; there is too much noise in the air. I feel nowadays, not in gatherings like this, but in gatherings of the ordinary sort, very much as I felt at a certain county fair. The grand stand by the race track was set back from the track, I suppose 50 feet, and a speaker's stand had been erected just in front of it, opposite the little pagoda where the judges of races stood; and I was put up to address the grand stand. Just back of the grand stand there was a most obstreperous hurdy-gurdy accompanying the giddy motions of a merry-go-round, and while I was trying with my voice to compete with that they started a horse race behind my back. Not having the attention of the grand stand, I did what any normal man would have done: I stopped and watched the horse race. That is an allegory with regard to our present situation. It is very difficult to address the grand stand, and I am glad I got you off in a corner.

But what is at stake? That is what makes a man's thought infinitely sober, and sometimes touches it with a certain degree of sadness. What is at stake in this business? Why, nothing less than the content, the hope, and the life of the people of this country. Say what you please, the real basis of disturbance in the field of business just now is the suspicion of the great body of people in the United States concerning the methods and combinations of business; and business cannot breathe an atmosphere of suspicion and live. You must, at any risk, remove that suspicion, or else there can be no normal business in the United States.

What is that suspicion based upon? It is not a contest between the men now in control of business and the men now in control of the Government of the United

States. It is a contest between those men and the normal life of the country, and there is everything involved. How would it suit the prosperity of the United States, how would it suit the success of business, to have a people that went every day sadly or sullenly to their work? How would the future look to you if you felt that the aspiration has gone out of most men, the confidence of success, the hope that they might change their condition, if there was everywhere the feeling that there was somewhere covert dictation, private arrangement as to who should be in the inner circle of privilege and who should not, a more or less systematic and conscious attempt to dictate and dominate the economic life of the country? Do you not see that just as soon as the old self-confidences of America, just so soon as her old boasted advantages of individual liberty and opportunity are taken away, all the energy of her people begins to subside, to slacken, to grow loose and pulpy, without fibre, and men simply cast around to see that the day does not end disastrously with them.

For 18 months now I have been on the inside of some things, and I owe it to a very elastic temperament that I have not become cynical. When I know that certain men actually do not possess political liberty because other men hold their notes, then I know that normal conditions do not exist in the United States; and that I do know, for I have had it from the mouths of the men who suffered thralldom. When I know that men very prominent in business dare not tell me what they think of some of the circumstances of the organization of modern business except privately and under pledge of confidence, then I know that something sinister has happened in America that has disturbed our intellectual manhood and our political liberty. I have made it my business to talk with men who understand the economic conditions of the country vastly better than I do, because they were concerned in large business transactions, and

I have almost invariably found them disposed to ask me not to say where I got my information.

In God's name, gentlemen, where does that point! Is it possible that there is some financial tyranny obtaining in America? It is not necessary that the men who exercise it should entertain tyrannous purposes; they may be unconscious of it; they may feel the same impulse of patriotism that you and I feel. Is it possible that we have allowed the system to grow up which they use and that you and the other men are afraid of them? That's what we have to face, and our stake is the reputation and happiness of a great nation. Alas, that we should have to ask the question! Alas, that men who ask it should be supposed to be desirous of upsetting the institutions of the country! Some of the institutions of this country have been upset already, not by political agitators, but by those who have exercised an illegitimate control over the Government, over the legislatures of the States of the Union. There, again, I am on ground absolutely firm under my feet, for it is the ground of knowledge. I can furnish you a list of the partners, and I say that when that is true, if it can be true, then our duty is so plain, so luminous, so attractive, that I do not see how any man can turn away from it. It is nothing less than to rehabilitate our own self-respect and our own liberty; it is nothing less than the opportunity, the glorious opportunity to recover the institutions of the United States, to set them up again in their purity and integrity, and see to it that no man dare breathe a single breath of suspicion against them, to see that they are not tarnished by the defiling touch of any man with unclean hands.

We have come to an age when constructive statesmanship is imperative, and I thank God for it. Who will be the volunteers? Who will volunteer for immortality? Ah, how men deprive themselves of honour! How men live upon husks and throw away the thing that nourishes! How men lose the happiness of life by not

seeing wherein it consists! How men selfishly decline to serve, and so find out the infinite reward of unselfishness! How blind, how self-denying, how stupid we are!

There are some words about which we are very careful. There is not much discriminating use of individual words in America, but there is one word about which we are very careful. We use the word "great" to describe anybody who has been talked about. It does not require character to be great; it only requires size of achievement. You may throttle everybody else and get everything they own and be "great." You may be great and be feared; but there is one word which we bestow with great discrimination, and that is the word "noble." You cannot be noble without character; you cannot be noble and not be loved; you cannot be noble and not serve somebody; you cannot be noble and spend every energy you have on yourself.

Who are candidates for this open peerage of America? Who desires the patent of nobility amongst us? Only those who will enter upon this great enterprise of recovering the ancient purity and simplicity of our politics. We can do it by mere candour; we can do it by merely discussing the facts and meeting them; we can do it without disturbing one of the legitimate transactions of business.

I am always afraid that business men who are uneasy have something to be uneasy about, or that, if there is nothing in itself that justifies their uneasiness, perhaps they do not comprehend what their real situation is. You can find it out in this way. Take the experience in Wisconsin. The men who were in control of the public-service corporations of Wisconsin fought the plans of that State for the regulation of such corporations as they would have fought the prospect of ruin; and what happened? Regulation of the most thorough-going sort was undertaken, and the result was that the securities of those companies were virtually guaranteed

to purchasers. Instead of being speculative in value, they were known to be absolutely secure investments because a disinterested agency, a commission representing the community, looked into the conditions of this business, guaranteed that there was not water enough in it to drown in, guaranteed that there was business enough and plant enough to justify the charges and to secure a return of legitimate profit; and every thoughtful man connected with such enterprises in Wisconsin now takes off his hat to the men who originated the measures once so much dreaded. The chief benefit was not regulation, but frank disclosure and the absolutely open and frank relationship between business and government. That's the advantage. The regulation may in some particulars have been unwise and hasty, but the relationship was absolutely normal and wholesome. That is the way, no doubt, in which a satisfactory relationship is going to be restored between the business of the country and the Government of the United States—by frank disclosure and well-considered readjustment.

Of course, there must be first a flood of released water. I have sometimes wondered whether that great, obstructing, "stand-pat" dam was not erected to restrain the release of watered stock. You must let it out sooner or later; and the sooner the better, because if we do it soon we will do it in good temper, and if late there is danger it may be done in ill-temper.

What is the alternative, gentlemen? You have heard the rising tide of socialism referred to here to-night. Socialism is not growing in influence in this country as a programme. It is merely that the ranks of protestants are being recruited. Socialism is not a programme, but a protest against the present state of affairs in the United States. If it becomes a programme, then we shall have to be very careful how we purpose a competing programme. I do not believe in the programme of socialism. If any man can say he knows anything from the past, perhaps he can say that the programme of socialism

would not work; but there is no use saying what will not work unless you can say what will work.

A splendid sermon was once preached by Dr. Chalmers on "The expulsive power of a new affection." If you want to oust socialism you have got to propose something better. It is a case, if you will allow me to fall into the language of the vulgar, of "put up or shut up." You cannot oppose hopeful programmes by negations. Every statesman who ever won anything great in any self-governing country was a man whose programme would stand criticism and had the energy behind it to move forward against opposition. It is by constructive purpose that you are going to govern and save the United States, and therefore a man ought to welcome the high privilege of addressing an audience like this. You can analyze, you can form purposes. Many of you do know what is going on. You know what part is wrong and what is right, if you have not lost your moral perspective, and you know how the wrong can be stopped.

Very well, then, let us get together and form a constructive programme, and then let us be happy in the prospect that in some distant day men shall look back to our time and say that the chief glory of America was not that she was successfully set up in a simple age when mankind came to begin a new life in a new land, but that, after the age had ceased to be simple, when the forces of society had come into hot contact, when there was bred more heat than light, there were men of serene enough intelligence, of steady enough self-command, of indomitable enough power of will and purpose to stand up once again and say: "Fellow-citizens, we have come into a great heritage of liberty; our heritage is not wealth; our distinction is not that we are rich in power; our boast is, rather, that we can transmute gold into the life blood of a free people." Then it will be recorded of us that we found out again what seemed the lost secret of mankind—how to translate power into freedom,

how to make men glad that they were rich, how to take the envy out of men's hearts that others were rich and they for a little while poor, by opening the gates of opportunity to every man and letting a flood of gracious guiding light illuminate the path of every man that is born into the world.

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

SPEECH DELIVERED AUGUST 7, 1912, AT SEAGIRT, NEW JERSEY, ACCEPTING THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. FROM SENATE DOCUMENT 903, 62D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION.

MR. JAMES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE:

Speaking for the National Democratic Convention, recently assembled at Baltimore, you have notified me of my nomination by the Democratic party for the high office of President of the United States. Allow me to thank you very warmly for the generous terms in which you have, through your distinguished chairman, conveyed the notification, and for the thoughtful personal courtesy with which you have performed your interesting and important errand.

I accept the nomination with a deep sense of its unusual significance and of the great honour done me, and also with a very profound sense of my responsibility to the party and to the Nation. You will expect me in accepting the honour to speak very plainly the faith that is in me. You will expect me, in brief, to talk politics and open the campaign in words whose meaning no one need doubt. You will expect me to speak to the country as well as to yourselves.

We cannot intelligently talk politics unless we know to whom we are talking and in what circumstances. The present circumstances are clearly unusual. No previous political campaign in our time has disclosed anything like them. The audience we address is in no ordinary

temper. It is no audience of partisans. Citizens of every class and party and prepossession sit together, a single people, to learn whether we understand their life and know how to afford them the counsel and guidance they are now keenly aware that they stand in need of. We must speak, not to catch votes, but to satisfy the thought and conscience of a people deeply stirred by the conviction that they have come to a critical turning point in their moral and political development.

IN PRESENCE OF AN AWAKENED NATION.

We stand in the presence of an awakened Nation, impatient of partisan make-believe. The public man who does not realize the fact and feel its stimulation must be singularly unsusceptible to the influences that stir in every quarter about him. The Nation has awakened to a sense of neglected ideals and neglected duties; to a consciousness that the rank and file of her people find life very hard to sustain, that her young men find opportunity embarrassed, and that her older men find business difficult to renew and maintain because of circumstances of privilege and private advantage which have interlaced their subtle threads throughout almost every part of the framework of our present law. She has awakened to the knowledge that she has lost certain cherished liberties and has wasted priceless resources which she had solemnly undertaken to hold in trust for posterity and for all mankind; and to the conviction that she stands confronted with an occasion for constructive statesmanship such as has not arisen since the great days in which her Government was set up.

Plainly, it is a new age. The tonic of such a time is very exhilarating. It requires self-restraint not to attempt too much, and yet it would be cowardly to attempt too little. The path of duty soberly and bravely trod is the way to service and distinction, and many adventurous feet seek to set out upon it.

There never was a time when impatience and suspicion were more keenly aroused by private power selfishly employed; when jealousy of everything concealed or touched with any purpose not linked with general good, or inconsistent with it, more sharply or immediately displayed itself.

Nor was the country ever more susceptible to unselfish appeals or to the high arguments of sincere justice. These are the unmistakable symptoms of an awakening. There is the more need of wise counsel because the people are so ready to heed counsel if it be given honestly and in their interest.

GREAT QUESTIONS OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE.

It is in the broad light of this new day that we stand face to face—with what? Plainly not with questions of party, not with a contest for office, not with a petty struggle for advantage, Democrat against Republican, liberal against conservative, progressive against reactionary. With great questions of right and of justice, rather—questions of national development, of the development of character and of standards of action no less than of a better business system, more free, more equitable, more open to ordinary men, practicable to live under, tolerable to work under, or a better fiscal system whose taxes shall not come out of the pockets of the many to go into the pockets of the few, and within whose intricacies special privilege may not so easily find covert. The forces of the Nation are asserting themselves against every form of special privilege and private control, and are seeking bigger things than they have ever heretofore achieved. They are sweeping away what is unrighteous in order to vindicate once more the essential rights of human life; and, what is very serious for us, they are looking to us for guidance, disinterested guidance, at once honest and fearless.

At such a time, and in the presence of such circum-

stances, what is the meaning of our platform, and what is our responsibility under it? What are our duty and our purpose? The platform is meant to show that we know what the Nation is thinking about, what it is most concerned about, what it wishes corrected, and what it desires to see attained that is new and constructive and intended for its long future. But for us it is a very practical document. We are not about to ask the people of the United States to adopt our platform; we are about to ask them to intrust us with office and power and the guidance of their affairs. They will wish to know what sort of men we are and of what definite purpose; what translation of action and of policy we intend to give to the general terms of the platform which the convention at Baltimore put forth, should we be elected.

The platform is not a programme. A programme must consist of measures, administrative acts, and acts of legislation. The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof. How do we intend to make it edible and digestible? From this time on we shall be under interrogation. How do we expect to handle each of the great matters that must be taken up by the next Congress and the next administration?

RULE OF JUSTICE FOR TARIFF AND TRUSTS.

What is there to do? It is hard to sum the great task up, but apparently this is the sum of the matter: There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts, and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the various uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labour in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service, not our

own. The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace, and in contentment. In the performance of this second great duty we are face to face with questions of conservation and of development, questions of forests and water powers and mines and waterways, of the building of an adequate merchant marine, and the opening of every highway and facility and the setting up of every safeguard needed by a great, industrious, expanding nation.

These are all great matters upon which everybody should be heard. We have got into trouble in recent years chiefly because these large things, which ought to have been handled by taking counsel with as large a number of persons as possible, because they touched every interest and the life of every class and region, have in fact been too often handled in private conference. They have been settled by very small, and often deliberately exclusive, groups of men who undertook to speak for the whole Nation, or rather for themselves in the terms of the whole Nation—very honestly it may be true, but very ignorantly sometimes, and very shortsightedly, too—a poor substitute for genuine common counsel. No group of directors, economic or political, can speak for a people. They have neither the point of view nor the knowledge. Our difficulty is not that wicked and designing men have plotted against us, but that our common affairs have been determined upon too narrow a view, and by too private an initiative. Our task now is to effect a great readjustment and get the forces of the whole people once more into play. We need no revolution; we need no excited change; we need only a new point of view and a new method and spirit of counsel.

NATION HAS BEEN AT WAR WITHIN ITSELF.

We are servants of the people, the whole people. The Nation has been unnecessarily, unreasonably, at war within itself. Interest has clashed with interest when there were common principles of right and of fair dealing which might and should have bound them all together, not as rivals, but as partners. As the servants of all, we are bound to undertake the great duty of accommodation and adjustment.

We cannot undertake it except in a spirit which some find it hard to understand. Some people only smile when you speak of yourself as a servant of the people; it seems to them like affectation or mere demagoguery. They ask what the unthinking crowd knows or comprehends of great complicated matters of government. They shrug their shoulders and lift their eyebrows when you speak as if you really believed in presidential primaries, in the direct election of United States Senators, and in an utter publicity about everything that concerns government, from the sources of campaign funds to the intimate debate of the higher affairs of State.

They do not, or will not, comprehend the solemn thing that is in your thought. You know as well as they do that there are all sorts and conditions of men—the unthinking mixed with the wise, the reckless with the prudent, the unscrupulous with the fair and honest—and you know what they sometimes forget, that every class without exception affords a sample of the mixture, the learned and the fortunate no less than the uneducated and the struggling mass. But you see more than they do. You see that these multitudes of men, mixed, of every kind and quality, constitute somehow an organic and noble whole, a single people, and that they have interests which no man can privately determine without their knowledge and counsel. That is the meaning of representative government itself. Representative government is nothing more or less than an effort to give

voice to this great body through spokesmen chosen out of every grade and class.

TARIFF HAS BEEN POLITICS INSTEAD OF BUSINESS

You may think that I am wandering off into a general disquisition that has little to do with the business in hand, but I am not. This is business—business of the deepest sort. It will solve our difficulties if you will but take it as business.

See how it makes business out of the tariff question. The tariff question, as dealt with in our time at any rate, has not been business. It has been politics. Tariff schedules have been made up for the purpose of keeping as large a number as possible of the rich and influential manufacturers of the country in a good humour with the Republican party, which desired their constant financial support. The tariff has become a system of favours, which the phraseology of the schedule was often deliberately contrived to conceal. It becomes a matter of business, of legitimate business, only when the partnership and understanding it represents is between the leaders of Congress and the whole people of the United States, instead of between the leaders of Congress and small groups of manufacturers demanding special recognition and consideration. That is why the general idea of representative government becomes a necessary part of the tariff question. Who, when you come down to the hard facts of the matter, have been represented in recent years when our tariff schedules were being discussed and determined, not on the floor of Congress, for that is not where they have been determined, but in the committee rooms and conferences? That is the heart of the whole affair. Will you, can you, bring the whole people into the partnership or not? No one is discontented with representative government; it falls under question only when it ceases to be representative. It is at bottom a question of good faith and morals.

TARIFF HAS BEEN USED TO FOSTER SPECIAL PRIVILEGE

How does the present tariff look in the light of it? I say nothing for the moment about the policy of protection, conceived and carried out as a disinterested statesman might conceive it. Our own clear conviction as Democrats is, that in the last analysis the only safe and legitimate object of tariff duties, as of taxes of every other kind, is to raise revenue for the support of the Government; but that is not my present point. We denounce the Payne-Aldrich tariff act as the most conspicuous example ever afforded the country of the special favours and monopolistic advantages which the leaders of the Republican party have so often shown themselves willing to extend to those to whom they looked for campaign contributions. Tariff duties as they have employed them have not been a means of setting up an equitable system of protection. They have been, on the contrary, a method of fostering special privilege. They have made it easy to establish monopoly in our domestic markets. Trusts have owed their origin and their secure power to them. The economic freedom of our people, our prosperity in trade, our untrammelled energy in manufacture depend upon their reconsideration from top to bottom in an entirely different spirit.

We do not ignore the fact that the business of a country like ours is exceedingly sensitive to changes in legislation of this kind. It has been built up, however inadvisedly, upon tariff schedules written in the way I have indicated, and its foundations must not be too radically or too suddenly disturbed. When we act we should act with caution and prudence, like men who know what they are about, and not like those in love with a theory. It is obvious that the changes we make should be made only at such a rate and in such a way as will least interfere with the normal and healthful course of commerce and manufacture. But we shall not on that account act

with timidity, as if we did not know our own minds, for we are certain of our ground and of our object. There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward.

DUTIES MUST BE REVISED TO END SPECIAL FAVOURS

It should begin with the schedules which have been most obviously used to kill competition to raise prices in the United States, arbitrarily and without regard to the prices pertaining elsewhere in the markets of the world; and it should, before it is finished or intermitted, be extended to every item in every schedule which affords any opportunity for monopoly, for special advantage to limited groups of beneficiaries, or for subsidized control of any kind in the markets or the enterprises of the country; until special favours of every sort shall have been absolutely withdrawn and every part of our laws of taxation shall have been transformed from a system of governmental patronage into a system of just and reasonable charges which shall fall where they will create the least burden. When we shall have done that, we can fix questions of revenue and of business adjustment in a new spirit and with clear minds. We shall then be partners with all the business men of the country, and a day of freer, more stable property shall have dawned.

There has been no more demoralizing influence in our politics in our time than the influence of tariff legislation, the influence of the idea that the Government was the grand dispenser of favours, the maker and unmaker of fortunes and of opportunities such as certain men have sought in order to control the movement of trade and industry throughout the continent. It has made the Government a prize to be captured and parties the means of effecting the capture. It has made the business men of one of the most virile and enterprising nations of the world timid, fretful, full of alarms; has robbed

them of self-confidence and manly force, until they have cried out that they could do nothing without the assistance of the Government at Washington. It has made them feel that their lives depended upon the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate (in these later years particularly the Finance Committee of the Senate). They have insisted very anxiously that these committees should be made up only of their "friends"; until the country in its turn grew suspicious and wondered how those committees were being guided and controlled, by what influences and plans of personal advantage. Government cannot be wholesomely conducted in such an atmosphere. Its very honesty is in jeopardy. Favours are never conceived in the general interest; they are always for the benefit of the few, and the few who seek and obtain them have only themselves to blame if presently they seem to be contemned and distrusted.

MAJORITY POORER, THOUGH WAGES HAVE INCREASED

For what has the result been? Prosperity? Yes, if by prosperity you mean vast wealth no matter how distributed, or whether distributed at all or not; if you mean vast enterprises built up to be presently concentrated under the control of comparatively small bodies of men, who can determine almost at pleasure whether there shall be competition or not. The Nation as a nation has grown immensely rich. She is justly proud of her industries and of the genius of her men of affairs. They can master anything they set their minds to, and we have been greatly stimulated under their leadership and command. Their laurels are many and very green. We must accord them the great honours that are due and we must preserve what they have built up for us. But what of the other side of the picture? It is not as easy for us to live as it used to be. Our money will not buy as much. High wages, even when we can get them,

yield us no great comfort. We used to be better off with less because a dollar could buy so much more. The majority of us have been disturbed to find ourselves growing poorer, even though our earnings were slowly increasing. Prices climb faster than we can push our earnings up.

Moreover, we begin to perceive some things about the movement of prices that concern us very deeply, and fix our attention upon the tariff schedules with a more definite determination than ever to get to the bottom of this matter. We have been looking into it, at trials held under the Sherman Act and in investigations in the committee rooms of Congress, where men who wanted to know the real facts have been busy with inquiry; and we begin to see very clearly what at least some of the methods are by which prices are fixed. We know that they are not fixed by the competitions of the market, or by the ancient law of supply and demand which is to be found stated in all the primers of economics, but by private arrangements with regard to what the supply should be and agreements among the producers themselves. Those who buy are not even represented by counsel. The high cost of living is arranged by private understanding.

LEGISLATION THAT HAS BEEN MADE FOR THE FEW

We naturally ask ourselves, How did these gentlemen get control of these things? We handed our economic laws over to them for legislative and contractual alteration. We have in these disclosures still another view of the tariff, still another proof that not the people of the United States but only a very small number of them have been partners in that legislation. Those few have learned how to control tariff legislation, and as they have perfected their control they have consolidated their interests. Men of the same interest have drawn together, have united their enterprises and have

formed trusts; and trusts can control prices. Up to a certain point (and only up to a certain point) great combinations effect great economies in administration, and increase efficiency by simplifying and perfecting organization; but whether they effect economies or not, they can very easily determine prices by intimate agreement so soon as they come to control a sufficient percentage of the product in any great line of business; and we know that they do.

I am not drawing up an indictment against anybody. That is the natural history of such tariffs as are now contrived, as it is the natural history of all other governmental favours and of all licenses to use the Government to help certain groups of individuals along in life. Nobody in particular, I suppose, is to blame, and I am not interested just now in blaming anybody. I am simply trying to point out what the situation is, in order to suggest what there is for us to do if we would serve the country as a whole. The fact is that the trusts have been formed, have gained all but complete control of the larger enterprises of the country, have fixed prices and fixed them high so that profits might be rolled up that were thoroughly worth while, and that the tariff, with its artificial protection and stimulations, gave them the opportunity to do these things and has safeguarded them in that opportunity.

PERIOD OF INFANT INDUSTRIES HAS PASSED.

The trusts do not belong to the period of infant industries. They are not the products of the time, that old, laborious time, when the great continent we live on was undeveloped, the young Nation struggling to find itself and get upon its feet amidst older and more experienced competitors. They belong to a very recent and very sophisticated age, when men knew what they wanted and knew how to get it by the favour of the Government. It is another chapter in the natural history of

power and of "governing classes." The next chapter will set us free again. There will be no flavour of tragedy in it. It will be a chapter of readjustment, not of pain and rough disturbance. It will witness a turning back from what is abnormal to what is normal. It will see a restoration of the laws of trade, which are the laws of competition and of unhampered opportunity, under which men of every sort are set free and encouraged to enrich the Nation.

I am not one of those who think that competition can be established by law against the drift of a world-wide economic tendency; neither am I one of those who believe that business done upon a great scale by a single organization—call it corporation, or what you will—is necessarily dangerous to the liberties, even the economic liberties, of a great people like our own, full of intelligence and of indomitable energy. I am not afraid of anything that is normal. I dare say we shall never return to the old order of individual competition, and that the organization of business upon a great scale of coöperation is, up to a certain point, itself normal and inevitable.

BIG BUSINESS NOT DANGEROUS BECAUSE IT IS BIG.

Power in the hands of great business men does not make me apprehensive, unless it springs out of advantages which they have not created for themselves. Big business is not dangerous because it is big, but because its bigness is an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy. While competition cannot be created by statutory enactment, it can in large measure be revived by changing the laws and forbidding the practices that killed it, and by enacting laws that will give it heart and occasion again. We can arrest and prevent monopoly. It has assumed new shapes and adopted new processes in our

time, but these are now being disclosed and can be dealt with.

The general terms of the present Federal antitrust law, forbidding "combinations in restraint of trade," have apparently proved ineffectual. Trusts have grown up under its ban very luxuriantly and have pursued the methods by which so many of them have established virtual monopolies without serious let or hindrance. It has roared against them like any sucking dove. I am not assessing the responsibility. I am merely stating the fact. But the means and methods by which trusts have established monopolies have now become known. It will be necessary to supplement the present law with such laws, both civil and criminal, as will effectually punish and prevent those methods, adding such other laws as may be necessary to provide suitable and adequate judicial processes, whether civil or criminal, to disclose them and follow them to final verdict and judgment. They must be specifically and directly met by law as they develop.

VAST CONFEDERACIES OF BANKS AND RAILWAYS

But the problem and the difficulty are much greater than that. There are not merely great trusts and combinations which are to be controlled and deprived of their power to create monopolies and destroy rivals; there is something bigger still than they are and more subtle, more evasive, more difficult to deal with. There are vast confederacies (as I may perhaps call them for the sake of convenience) of banks, railways, express companies, insurance companies, manufacturing corporations, mining corporations, power and development companies, and all the rest of the circle, bound together by the fact that the ownership of their stock and the members of their boards of directors are controlled and determined by comparatively small and closely interrelated groups of persons who, by their in-

formal confederacy, may control, if they please and when they will, both credit and enterprise. There is nothing illegal about these confederacies, so far as I can perceive. They have come about very naturally, generally without plan or deliberation, rather because there was so much money to be invested, and it was in the hands, at great financial centres, of men acquainted with one another and intimately associated in business, than because any one had conceived and was carrying out a plan of general control; but they are none the less potent a force in our economic and financial system on that account. They are part of our problem. Their very existence gives rise to the suspicion of a "money trust," a concentration of the control of credit which may at any time become infinitely dangerous to free enterprise. If such a concentration and control does not actually exist it is evident that it can easily be set up and used at will. Laws must be devised which will prevent this, if laws can be worked out by fair and free counsel that will accomplish that result without destroying or seriously embarrassing any sound or legitimate business undertaking or necessary and wholesome arrangement.

Let me say again that what we are seeking is not destruction of any kind nor the disruption of any sound or honest thing, but merely the rule of right and of the common advantage. I am happy to say that a new spirit has begun to show itself in the last year or two among influential men of business, and, what is perhaps even more significant, among the lawyers who are their expert advisers; and that this spirit has displayed itself very notably in the last few months in an effort to return, in some degree at any rate, to the practices of genuine competition. Only a very little while ago our men of business were united in resisting every proposal of change and reform as an attack on business, an embarrassment to all large enterprise, an intimation that settled ideas of property were to be set aside and a new

and strange order of things created out of hand. While they thought in that way, progress seemed impossible without hot contest and a bitter clash between interests, almost a war of classes. Common counsel seemed all but hopeless, because some of the chief parties in interest would not take part; seemed even to resent discussion as a manifestation of hostility towards themselves. They talked constantly about vested interests and were very hot.

BIG BUSINESS MEN ARE SEEING THE LIGHT.

It is a happy omen that their attitude has changed. They see that what is right can hurt no man; that a new adjustment of interests is inevitable and desirable, is in the interest of everybody; that their own honour, their own intelligence, their own practical comprehension of affairs is involved. They are beginning to adjust their business to the new standards. Their hand is no longer against the Nation; they are part of it; their interests are bound up with its interests. This is not true of all of them; but it is true of enough of them to show what the new age is to be and how the anxieties of statesmen are to be eased if the light that is dawning broadens into day.

If I am right about this, it is going to be easier to act in accordance with the rule of right and justice in dealing with the labour question. The so-called labour question is a question only because we have not yet found the rule of right in adjusting the interests of labour and capital. The welfare, the happiness, the energy and spirit of the men and women who do the daily work in our mines and factories, on our railroads, in our offices and marts of trade, on our farms and on the sea, are of the essence of our national life. There can be nothing wholesome unless their life is wholesome; there can be no contentment unless they are contented. Their physical welfare affects the soundness of the whole

Nation. We shall never get very far in the settlement of these vital matters so long as we regard everything done for the workingman, by law or by private agreement, as a concession yielded to keep him from agitation and a disturbance of our peace. Here, again, the sense of universal partnership must come into play if we are to act like statesmen, as those who serve, not a class, but a nation.

FIRST REGARD MUST BE CARE OF WORKING PEOPLE.

The working people of America—if they must be distinguished from the minority that constitutes the rest of it—are, of course, the backbone of the Nation. No law that safeguards their life, that makes their hours of labour rational and tolerable, that gives them freedom to act in their own interest, and that protects them where they cannot protect themselves, can properly be regarded as class legislation or as anything but as a measure taken in the interest of the whole people, whose partnership in right action we are trying to establish and make real and practical. It is in this spirit that we shall act if we are genuine spokesmen of the whole country.

As our programme is disclosed—for no man can forecast it ready-made and before counsel is taken of everyone concerned—this must be its measure and standard, the interest of all concerned. For example, in dealing with the complicated and difficult question of the reform of our banking and currency laws it is plain that we ought to consult very many persons besides the bankers, not because we distrust the bankers, but because they do not necessarily comprehend the business of the country, notwithstanding they are indispensable servants of it and may do a vast deal to make it hard or easy. No mere bankers' plan will meet the requirements, no matter how honestly conceived. It should be a merchants' and farmers' plan as well, elastic in the hands of those who

use it as an indispensable part of their daily business. I do not know enough about this subject to be dogmatic about it; I know only enough to be sure what the partnerships in it should be and that the control exercised over any system we may set up should be, as far as possible, a control emanating not from a single special class, but from the general body and authority of the Nation itself.

WE MERELY HOLD THE PHILIPPINES IN TRUST.

In dealing with the Philippines we should not allow ourselves to stand upon any mere point of pride, as if, in order to keep countenance in the families of nations, it were necessary for us to make the same blunders of selfishness that other nations have made. We are not the owners of the Philippine Islands. We hold them in trust for the people who live in them. They are theirs, for the uses of their life. We are not even their partners. It is our duty, as trustees, to make whatever arrangement of government will be most serviceable to their freedom and development. Here, again, we are to set up the rule of justice and of right.

The rule of the people is no idle phrase; those who believe in it—as who does not that has caught the real spirit of America?—believe that there can be no rule of right without it; that right in politics is made up of the interests of everybody, and everybody should take part in the action that is to determine it. We have been keen for presidential primaries and the direct election of United States Senators, because we wanted the action of the Government to be determined by persons whom the people had actually designated as men whom they were ready to trust and follow. We have been anxious that all campaign contributions and expenditures should be disclosed to the public in fullest detail, because we regarded the influences which govern campaigns to be as much a part of the people's business as anything

else connected with their Government. We are working toward a very definite object—the universal partnership in public affairs upon which the purity of politics and its aim and spirit depend.

For there is much for the partners to undertake. In the affairs of a great nation we plan and labour, not for the present only, but for the long future as well. There are great tasks of protection and conservation and development to which we have to address ourselves. Government has much more to do than merely to right wrongs and set the house in order.

WE MUST HUSBAND OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

I do not know any greater question than that of conservation. We have been a spendthrift nation, and now must husband what we have left. We must do more than that. We must develop, as well as preserve, our water powers and must add great waterways to the transportation facilities of the nation, to supplement the railways within our borders as well as upon the Isthmus. We must revive our merchant marine, too, and fill the seas again with our own fleets. We must add to our present post-office service a parcel post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand, as well as hearten them with justice and opportunity. This is the constructive work of government. This is the policy that has a vision and a hope and that looks to serve mankind.

There are many sides to these great matters. Conservation is easy to generalize about, but hard to particularize about wisely. Reservation is not the whole of conservation. The development of great States must not be stayed indefinitely to await a policy by which our forests and water powers can prudently be made use of. Use and development must go hand in hand. The policy we adopt must be progressive, not negative, merely, as if we did not know what to do.

With regard to the development of greater and more numerous waterways and the building up of a merchant marine, we must follow great constructive lines and not fall back upon the cheap device of bounties and subsidies. In the case of the Mississippi River, that great central artery of our trade, it is plain that the Federal Government must build and maintain the levees and keep the great waters in harness for the general use. It is plain, too, that vast sums of money must be spent to develop new waterways where trade will be most served and transportation most readily cheapened by them. Such expenditures are no largess on the part of the Government; they are national investments.

AMERICAN SHIPS MUST CARRY AMERICAN GOODS

The question of a merchant marine turns back to the tariff again, to which all roads seem to lead, and to our registry laws, which, if coupled with the tariff, might almost be supposed to have been intended to take the American flag off the seas. Bounties are not necessary, if you will but undo some of the things that have been done. Without a great merchant marine we cannot take our rightful place in the commerce of the world. Merchants who must depend upon the carriers of rival mercantile nations to carry their goods to market are at a disadvantage in international trade too manifest to need to be pointed out; and our merchants will not long suffer themselves—ought not to suffer themselves—to be placed at such a disadvantage. Our industries have expanded to such a point that they will burst their jackets if they cannot find a free outlet to the markets of the world; and they cannot find such an outlet unless they be given ships of their own to carry their goods—ships that will go the routes they want them to go—and prefer the interests of America in their sailing orders and their equipment. Our domestic markets no longer suffice.

We need foreign markets. That is another force that is going to break the tariff down. The tariff was once a bulwark; now it is a dam. For trade is reciprocal; we cannot sell unless we also buy.

The very fact that we have at last taken the Panama Canal seriously in hand and are vigorously pushing it toward completion is eloquent of our reawakened interest in international trade. We are not building the canal and pouring out millions upon millions of money upon its construction merely to establish a water connection between the two coasts of the continent, important and desirable as that may be, particularly from the point of view of naval defense. It is meant to be a great international highway. It would be a little ridiculous if we should build it and then have no ships to send through it. There have been years when not a single ton of freight passed through the great Suez Canal in an American bottom, so empty are the seas of our ships and seamen. We must mean to put an end to that kind of thing or we would not be cutting a new canal at our very doors merely for the use of our men-of-war. We shall not manage the revival by the mere paltry device of tolls. We must build and buy ships in competition with the world. We can do it if we will but give ourselves leave.

EDUCATION IS A PART OF CONSERVATION.

There is another duty which the Democratic party has shown itself great enough and close enough to the people to perceive, the duty of Government to share in promoting agricultural, industrial, vocational education in every way possible within its constitutional powers. No other platform has given this intimate vision of a party's duty. The Nation cannot enjoy its deserved supremacy in the markets and enterprises of the world unless its people are given the ease and effectiveness that come only with knowledge and training.

Education is part of the great task of conservation, part of the task of renewal and of perfected power.

We have set ourselves a great programme, and it will be a great party that carries it out. It must be a party without entangling alliances with any special interest whatever. It must have the spirit and the point of view of the new age. Men are turning away from the Republican party, as organized under its old leaders, because they found that it was not free; that it was entangled; and they are turning to us because they deem us free to serve them. They are immensely interested, as we are, as every man who reads the signs of the time and feels the spirit of the new age is, in the new programme. It is solidly based on the facts of our national life; its items are items of present business; it is what every man should wish to see done who wishes to see our present distemper made an end of and our old free coöperative life restored.

We should go into this campaign confident of only one thing—confident of what we want to do if intrusted with the Government. It is not a partisan fight we are entering upon. We are happily excused from personal attacks upon opponents and from all general indictments against the men opposed to us. The facts are patent to everybody; we do not have to prove them; the more frank among our opponents admit them. Our thinking must be constructive from start to finish. We must show that we understand the problems that confront us, and that we are soberly minded to deal with them; applying to them, not nostrums and notions, but hard sense and good courage.

IT IS A CONTEST OF PRINCIPLES

A presidential campaign may easily degenerate into a mere personal contest and so lose its real dignity and significance. There is no indispensable man. The Government will not collapse and go to pieces if any

one of the gentlemen who are seeking to be entrusted with its guidance should be left at home. But men are instruments. We are as important as the cause we represent, and in order to be important must really represent a cause. What is our cause? The people's cause. That is easy to say, but what does it mean? The common as against any particular interest whatever? Yes, but that, too, needs translation into acts and policies. We represent the desire to set up an unentangled government, a government that cannot be used for private purposes, either in the field of business or in the field of politics; a government that will not tolerate the use of the organization of a great party to serve the personal aims and ambitions of any individual, and that will not permit legislation to be employed to further any private interest. It is a great conception, but I am free to serve it, as you also are. I could not have accepted a nomination which left me bound to any man or group of men. No man can be just who is not free; and no man who has to show favours ought to undertake the solemn responsibility of government in any rank or post whatever, least of all in the supreme post of President of the United States.

To be free is not necessarily to be wise. But wisdom comes with counsel, with the frank and free conference of untrammelled men united in the common interest. Should I be entrusted with the great office of President, I would seek counsel wherever it could be had upon free terms. I know the temper of the great convention which nominated me; I know the temper of the country that lay back of that convention and spoke through it. I heed with deep thankfulness the message you bring me from it. I feel that I am surrounded by men whose principles and ambitions are those of true servants of the people. I thank God, and will take courage.

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This bibliography is based upon the three Essays¹ published in pamphlet form by the Library of Princeton University. A considerable number of obscure items have been added, as well as items published or republished after the appearance of the three Essays. This section of the bibliography covers the period from about 1875 to March, 1913. Two other sections will appear in later volumes of the Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Our thanks are extended to the Library of Princeton University for permission to reprint its bibliographies. Notice of omissions or inaccuracies will be appreciated by the editor.

H. S. L.

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INDEX

A

Aberdeen Coalition, *i*, 73
 "Abraham Lincoln; A Man of the People," *ii*, 83-101
 "Abraham Lincoln, the Tribute of a Century," *ii*, 83
 Accumulated capital, power of, *ii*, 55, 57-58
 Adams, John, *i*, 330, 342, 422
 Adams, John Quincy, *i*, 330, 343
 Agincourt, *i*, 433
 Aguinaldo, *i*, 428
 Aldermen, boards of, *ii*, 216
 Aldrich, Senator, *ii*, 123, 127, 128, 215, 333, 439, 440
 Alliance, Evangelical, *i*, 361
 Alsace, *i*, 7.—*See also* Lorraine
 Amendment, Thirteenth, *i*, 376, 384, 390; Fourteenth, 384, 385, 386, 390; Fifteenth, 386, 390, 391
 "American and European Systems, Comparison," *i*, 163n
 American Bankers' Association, *ii*, 54
 American Bar Association, *ii*, 245
American Commonwealth, *i*, 159-178
American Historical Review, *i*, 313n.
 American people, *ii*, 283-284, 308, 410
 Angevin kings, *i*, 139
 Annapolis convention, *ii*, 407
 Anne, Queen, *i*, 109
 "Antecedent Liberal Education, Should an, Be Required of Students in Law, Medicine, and Theology?" *i*, 223-231

Anti-Corn-Law League, *i*, 46, 51
 Apostles' Creed, *i*, 361
 Applied science, schools of, *ii*, 157
 Appropriations, *i*, 32
 Architecture, Renaissance, *ii*, 92
 Arthur, Chester A., *i*, 203, 212
 Articles of Confederation, *i*, 193, 318, 320; *ii*, 42
 Assembly, Constituent, *i*, 138, 139
 Association, law of, *i*, 233
 Athletics, *ii*, 154, 174
Atlantic Monthly, *i*, 187, 286, 310, 368, 396, 416; *ii*, 1, 2, 23
 "Atticus," *i*, 1, 10, 63
 Australia, *i*, 177, 388; *ii*, 213
 Australian method of voting in, *ii*, 213
 Austria, *i*, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 76
 Authority, concentration of, *ii*, 205

B

"Baby act," *ii*, 129, 130
 Baccalaureate address, Woodrow Wilson's, *ii*, 234-244
 "Back to the reign of law," 30
 Bagehot, Walter, *i*, 30, 133
 Ballot, the, *ii*, 189
 Baltimore Democratic convention, *ii*, 452
 Bancroft, General, *ii*, 357
 "Banker and the Nation, The," *ii*, 54-63
 "Bankers and Statesmanship," *ii*, 225-233
 Banking reform, *ii*, 307
 Bank, National, *i*, 323; *ii*, 408

- Banks, *i*, 323; *ii*, 58-61, 408, 465
 Bayard, Thomas F., *i*, 201, 299, 306
 Beaconsfield, Lord, *i*, 17, 80, 88
 Belcher, Governor, *i*, 261
 Benton, Senator, *ii*, 5
 "Bible and Progress, The," *ii*, 291-302
 Bible, Mr. Wilson's address on, *ii*, 291-302
 Bible, tercentenary celebration of the translation into the English language, *ii*, 291
 Bills of Rights, *i*, 430; *ii*, 341
 Bipartisan political machine, *ii*, 287, 415
 Birthright, American, *ii*, 232
 "Bismarck, Prince," *i*, 1-10, 15
 Bissell, Wilson S., *i*, 201, 209, 214, 217
 Black Death, *i*, 133
 Blackstone, *i*, 133, 245, 256
 Blaine, James G., *i*, 202; *ii*, 407
 Blanket ballot, *ii*, 213, 214
 Blenheim, *i*, 79
 Bliss, Cornelius N., *i*, 333
 Bluntschli, *i*, 145
 Boarding-schools, *ii*, 170, 172, 175
 Bosses, political, *ii*, 47, 212, 213
 Boudinot, *i*, 422
 Bouting, M., *i*, 165
 Bright, John, *i*, 43-59, 67, 68, 74, 75, 80, 83, 87
 Broom, Mr., *i*, 239
 Brougham, Lord, *i*, 7
 Browning, *ii*, 94
 Brownson, Dr., *i*, 61
 Bryan, George, *ii*, 225, 226, 231
 Bryan, William J., *i*, 331, 332; *ii*, 74, 75, 345
 Bryce, James, *i*, 158-178, 241
 Buchanan, James, *i*, 202; *ii*, 2, 4, 8, 11-13
 Bundesrath, *i*, 191
 Bureaucracy, *i*, 157
 Burgess, John W., *i*, 187
 Burke, Edmund, *i*, 6, 9, 51, 108, 109n., 181, 273, 274, 420, 421, 423, 429, 434; *ii*, 209
 Burr, Aaron, *i*, 267
 Burr, Rev. Aaron, *i*, 260, 261, 262, 266
 Business and politics, *ii*, 327, 415
 Business, big, not dangerous, *ii*, 464-465
 "Business, Government in Relation to," *ii*, 430-451
 Business, government regulation of, *ii*, 21, 22
 Business, modern, *ii*, 54
- C
- Cabinet, *i*, 36-39, 95-129
 Cabinet government in the United States, *i*, 19-42, 163
 Cabinet, Mr. Cleveland's, *i*, 198-222
 Calhoun, John C., *i*, 56, 330, 331, 342; *ii*, 4, 5
 Canada, *i*, 164, 319, 398, 405
 Canning, George, *i*, 51, 81
 Cannon, Joseph, *ii*, 127, 128
 Capital and labor, *i*, 232, 398; *ii*, 55.—*See also* Employer and employee
 Capital, power of accumulated, *ii*, 55, 57-58, 135
 Captains of industry, *ii*, 340, 418
 Carlisle, John G., *i*, 200, 205, 206, 212, 213, 216, 296, 300, 304
 Cartwright, Mr., *i*, 61
 Cass, Lewis, *i*, 202
 Catholics, Liberal, *i*, 61
 Caucuses, *i*, 106-118
 Caution, *ii*, 89
Century Encyclopædia of Names, *ii*, 64
 Chalmers, Dr., *i*, 364; *ii*, 450
 Charter, Great, *i*, 139
 Charter, New York City, *ii*, 223
 Chase, Salmon P., *ii*, 7
 Chatham, Earl, *i*, 6, 11-18, 51, 181, 273, 420.—*See also* Pitt, William

- Child labor, Federal regulation of, *ii*, 37
- Choate, Joseph H., *ii*, 226
- Chopin, *ii*, 84, 85
- Christ, *ii*, 178, 179, 182, 187, 240-243, 298
- Christianity, *ii*, 178-179, 186, 187
- Church of England, *i*, 76
- Church of Ireland, *i*, 71, 73, 76
- Church, opportunity of, *ii*, 183
- "Church, Young People and the," *i*, 474-486
- Churches, Protestant, *ii*, 202
- Cities, badly governed, *ii*, 218
- "Citizenship, University Training and," *i*, 246-258
- City Club (Boston), Mr. Wilson's address before, *ii*, 354
- City Club (Philadelphia), *ii*, 188
- Civil service, *i*, 130, 141, 144-145, 293, 307
- Civil War, *i*, 314, 327, 328, 331, 388, 389, 390, 401, 404; *ii*, 1, 33, 35, 67, 248, 360.—*See also* Confederacy; Slavery; South
- Clay, Henry, *i*, 80, 202, 325, 330, 331, 342; *ii*, 4, 5, 14, 15, 435
- Cleveland, Grover, cabinet, *i*, 198-222; home training, 287; qualities, 288; sheriff of Buffalo, 289; mayor of Buffalo, 289; governor, 290; chosen President, 291; disapproval of private pension bills, 292-295; attitude to purchase and coinage of silver, 293, 298, 301-303; and civil service, 293, 294; and Congress, 295; and the tariff, 296, 297, 298, 299, 303; renominated, 297; defeat, 297; President second time, 298; and income tax, 303-304; and Hawaii, 305; Venezuelan dispute, 306; Cuban question, 307; defeat, 309; dislike by Congress, 333
- Clubs, college, *i*, 499-521
- Cobden, Richard, *i*, 46, 74
- Cold storage, *ii*, 280-281
- College, American, *ii*, 102-119, 149-155, 160-177
- Columbian Exposition.—*See* World's Fair
- Combinations, great, *ii*, 135, 139, 229, 356, 376, 398.—*See also* Corporations; Trusts
- Commentaries*, Blackstone's, *i*, 245
- Commerce, *i*, 312; *ii*, 43, 407
- Commission, government by, *ii*, 220-221
- Commissions, public service, *ii*, 26
- "Committee or Cabinet Government?" *i*, 95-129
- Committees, Congressional, *i*, 21-23, 27, 29, 38, 39, 40, 99, 101-103, 113, 116, 123, 333, 334, 347, 411
- Commoner, Great. *See* Chatham
- Commons, House of, *i*, 66, 70, 84, 85, 86, 87, 95, 98, 167, 173, 190, 423, 424, 430, 431.—*See also* Parliament
- Commonwealths of 1774, *i*, 194
- "Community, The Lawyer and the," *ii*, 245-268
- "Comparison of the American and European Systems," *i*, 163n.
- Compensation, workmen's, *ii*, 273
- Competition, free, *ii*, 228, 348, 400
- Confederacies, vast, 465, 467
- Confederacy, Southern, *i*, 56-57, 384.—*See also* Civil War; Slavery
- Confederation, Articles of, *i*, 193, 318, 320; *ii*, 42
- Confederation, Congress of the, *i*, 326
- Confederation, German, *i*, 3
- Confidences, Roosevelt and, *ii*, 217
- Congress, United States, *i*, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 30, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41, 89, 99, 105, 112,

- 113, 114, 119, 121, 123, 124, 128, 129, 162, 164, 200, 206, 207, 214, 218, 220, 222, 266, 291, 293, 295, 296, 301, 305, 320, 329, 330, 332, 333, 334, 340, 341, 344, 356, 358, 373, 374, 375, 376, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 391, 392, 393, 394, 418; *ii*, 9, 10, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 122, 123, 124, 130, 134, 139, 142, 143, 145, 198, 215, 248, 250, 327, 407, 417, 434, 435, 441, 443, 458.
—*See also* House of Representatives; Senate
- Congressional Committees, *i*, 21-23, 27, 29, 38, 39, 40, 99, 101-103, 113, 116, 123, 333, 334, 347, 411
- Congressional Record*, *i*, 97; *ii*, 54, 291, 303, 318, 325, 344, 354, 424, 430
- Conservation, *ii*, 307, 350-351, 355-356, 363, 370, 371, 471, 472-473
- Conservative party, *i*, 54, 68
- Constituent Assembly, *i*, 138, 139
- Constitution, American, *i*, 25, 104, 112, 113, 114, 141, 147, 168, 182, 191, 215, 217, 268, 274, 286, 287, 293, 294, 300, 310, 312, 321, 330, 337, 338, 341, 346, 371, 376, 381, 383, 384, 388, 389, 393, 394, 468; *ii*, 3, 10, 32, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 48, 49, 51, 406, 407, 434, 435, 436
- Constitution, British, *i*, 24, 393
- Constitution, Canadian, *i*, 164
- "Constitution, Development of the, by Usage," *i*, 175
- Constitution, French, *i*, 184
- Constitution of 1789, *i*, 193
- "Constitution, The Courts and the," *i*, 163
- Constitutional convention of 1787, *i*, 24, 25, 181, 268, 269, 274; of 1857, *ii*, 43
- "Constitutional" government, *i*, 399
- Contemporary Review*, *i*, 184
- Continental Congress, first, *i*, 193, 194, 264, 318, 325, 344, 418
- Contract, law of, *i*, 233
- Control, political, in hands of the people, *ii*, 305
- Convention, Constitutional, of 1787, *i*, 24, 25, 181, 268, 269, 274
- Conventions, nominating, *i*, 331, 332
- Corn Laws, *i*, 47, 67
- Cornwallis, Lord, *i*, 417, 420
- Corporations, *i*, 28, 133; *ii*, 20, 24, 26, 27, 29, 143, 181-182, 198, 216, 254-267, 271, 273-275, 306, 330, 412-413, 414.
—*See also* Combinations, great; Meat trust; Trusts
- Corruption in office, *i*, 32
- Cotton, John, *i*, 363
- Council, President's Great, *i*, 201
- "Courts and the Constitution, The," *i*, 163
- Courts, the, *i*, 163; *ii*, 49-51
- Crimean War, *i*, 4
- Crisp, Charles F., *i*, 205
- Cromwell, Oliver, *i*, 6, 181
- Cuba, *i*, 307, 427, 428
- Currency, *i*, 312

D

- Dale, Mr., *i*, 122
- Darwin, Charles, *ii*, 84, 85, 434
- David, King, *ii*, 295
- Davies, Samuel, *i*, 261, 262, 266
- Debate an essential function of a popular representative body, *i*, 28-30
- Declaration of Independence, *i*, 264, 418
- Delineator*, 147
- Demagogue, the, *ii*, 286
- "Democracy and Efficiency," *i*, 396-415

- Democracy in America*, *i*, 159
 "Democracy, Living Principles of," *ii*, 193-201
 "Democracy's Opportunity," *ii*, 303-309
 Democratic party, *ii*, 3, 13, 14, 15, 25, 28; *ii*, 193, 194, 195, 284, 285, 303-309, 344, 351, 394, 399, 400, 401, 404, 405, 410, 418, 419, 420
 Demosthenes, *i*, 17
 Depew, Chauncey M., *i*, 346
 Deputies, Chamber of, *i*, 191
 Derby, Earl, *i*, 67, 85
 "Development of the Constitution by Usage, The," *i*, 175
 Dewey, John, *i*, 231
 Dickinson, Rev. Jonathan, *i*, 260, 261, 262
 Diet, Federal, *i*, 4, 8
 Dingley tariff bill, *ii*, 120
 Dinwiddie, Governor, *i*, 321
 Dishonesty, *ii*, 227
 Disraeli, Benjamin, *i*, 17, 85, 87
 Distrust, universal, of representative methods, *ii*, 218
 Dodd, William E., *i*, 167n.
 Dormitories, life in college, *ii*, 169-170
 Douglas, Stephen A., *i*, 381; *ii*, 5, 6-10, 16, 20, 84, 391. *See also* "Little Giant."
 Dred Scott decision, *ii*, 10, 11, 13
- E
- "East," *i*, 313, 316, 322, 324, 325, 327, 328, 329
 Ecclesiastical Titles bill, *i*, 73
 Economic Club (New York), *ii*, 430
 Economic interests, diversity of, *ii*, 210
 Eddy, Mr., *i*, 445
 "Education, Legal, of Undergraduates," *i*, 232-245
 Education, liberal, *i*, 223-231
 Edwards, Jonathan, *i*, 261, 262
 Efficiency, *i*, 396-415, *ii*, 204-205, 354-356
 "Efficiency, Democracy and," *i*, 396-415
 Elections, popular, *ii*, 47
 Elective, make every office, *ii*, 205
 Electoral system, reform of, *ii*, 224
 Elizabeth, Queen, *i*, 133
 Ellsworth, Oliver, *i*, 266, 269
 Embargo, the, *i*, 315
 Employee, employer and, *ii*, 272-273.—*See also* Capital; Labor
 Employer and employee, *ii*, 272-273.—*See also* Capital; Labor
 Engineering Education, Society for the Promotion of, *i*, 445
 Engineering, schools of, and mechanic arts, *ii*, 157
 England, *i*, 16, 17, 21, 37, 43-59, 61, 63-88, 91, 136, 139, 161, 171, 172, 173, 190, 192, 237, 246, 259, 318, 319, 320, 393, 400, 405, 407, 412, 424, 430, 431, 432, 436; *ii*, 374.—*See also* Commons, House of; Lords, House of; Parliament
 "English Men of Letters," *i*, 109n.
 Evangelical Alliance, *i*, 361
 Evarts, William M., *i*, 202
 Executive and legislative, relations of, *i*, 127-129, 333, 334, 351, 358
 Expansion, commercial, *ii*, 375
 Expediency, doctrine of, *ii*, 184

F

- Fairchild, Charles S., *i*, 205
 Farewell Address, Washington's, *i*, 367
 "Federal Government, The States and the," *ii*, 32-53
Federalist, *i*, 267
 Few, legislation for the, *ii*, 462-463
 Fifteenth century, notable, *i*, 225
 Fillmore, Millard, *ii*, 14

- Finley, Samuel, *i*, 261, 262, 266
 Fish, Hamilton, *ii*, 7
 Foote, Senator, *ii*, 7
 Ford, Professor Henry J., *ii*, 212
Forum, *i*, 246, 259
 Fox, Charles James, *i*, 66, 423, 430
 France, *i*, 1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 61, 76, 138, 139, 155, 156, 167, 184, 190, 192, 246, 319, 320, 405, 429, 432; *ii*, 210, 374-375
 Franklin, Benjamin, *i*, 335, 422
 Fraternity chapters, *ii*, 171-172
 Frederick the Great, *i*, 15, 138
 Frederic William III, *i*, 138
 Free coinage of silver, *ii*, 60
 Freedman, *i*, 375
 Freedman's Bureau, *i*, 379, 384, 385
 Freedom, human, *ii*, 382
 "Freedom, Issues of," *ii*, 283-290
 "Free-Soil" convention, *ii*, 15
 Free-Soil party, *ii*, 15, 16
 Free Trade, English, *i*, 46-50, 53, 73, 77, 84, 85; in America.—*See* Tariff.
 Free Trade Hall, *i*, 49
 French and Indian War, *i*, 259, 262, 318, 321, 322
 Freneau, Philip, *i*, 267
 Fugitive Slave law, *ii*, 4
- G
- Gage, Lyman J., *i*, 333
 Gary, James A., *i*, 333
 Garland, A. H., *i*, 208
 Garland, Commissioner, *i*, 92, 94
 George, King, *i*, 422
 German government, *ii*, 123, 440
 Germany, *i*, 3, 4, 7-10, 60, 76, 155, 156, 157, 191, 192, 246, 306, 307, 398; *ii*, 124, 374-375
 Gibbon, John, *i*, 64
 Gilman, President, *i*, 230
 Gladstone, William E., *i*, 51, 62, 63-88, 90, 91, 167; *ii*, 84, 85
 "Gladstone, Mr.: A Character Sketch," *i*, 63-88
 Glasgow, best governed city in world, *ii*, 219
Glasgow Herald, *ii*, 220
 "Gleanings of Past Years," *i*, 65
 Gneist, Prof. Rudolph, *i*, 408
 Godolphin, *i*, 109
 Gold, discovery of, *ii*, 3, 11
Golden Age, The, *i*, 474
 Goodnow, Professor, *i*, 168
 Gordon, Senator, *ii*, 225, 226
 Gortschakoff, *i*, 4, 7, 8
 Government, cabinet, *i*, 19-42, 163
 "Government, Committee or Cabinet?" *i*, 95-129
 Government, constitutional, *i*, 143
 "Government in Relation to Business," *ii*, 430-451
 Graduate schools, *ii*, 154, 155, 156
 Graft, *ii*, 227
 Grahame, Kenneth, *i*, 474
 Grain, export of, *ii*, 357
 Grant, Ulysses S., *i*, 201, 203, 205, 216, 370
 Great Charter, *i*, 139
 Greece, *i*, 180
 Greeley, Horace, *ii*, 387
 Green, J. R., *i*, 95
 Gresham, Walter Q., *i*, 200, 202-204, 214, 216
 Guadalupe-Hidalgo, treaty of, *ii*, 4
 Guiana, British.—*See* Venezuelan dispute
- H
- Hadley, Arthur T., *i*, 361
 Hale, Sir Matthew, *i*, 239
 Hamilton, Alexander, *i*, 33, 194, 323, 324, 330, 427; *ii*, 27, 131, 132, 142, 346
 Hampden, John, *i*, 6, 11, 181, 272, 274 430
 Hancock, Thomas, *i*, 422

- Hapsburg, House of, *i*, 3
Harcourt, Sir William, *i*, 51, 80
Harper's Weekly, *ii*, 193
Harrison, Benjamin, *i*, 211, 298
Harrison, William Henry, *ii*, 14
Hartford Convention, *i*, 315
Harvard Graduates' Magazine,
ii, 102
Hawaii, annexation of, *i*, 305
Hegel, *i*, 132
Henry, Patrick, *i*, 80, 273, 337,
422
Henry II, *i*, 140
Henry VIII, *i*, 433
Herbert, Hilary A., *i*, 200, 205,
206-207, 212, 216, 300
"Hide and Seek Politics," *ii*,
204-224
High schools, *ii*, 154-155
History, English and American
political, *i*, 140
History of England, Fox's, *i*, 66
Hoar, Senator, *i*, 30
Holst, Dr. von, *i*, 165
"Honest Abe," *ii*, 87
Honesty, individual, *ii*, 228, 229
Hooker, Thomas, *i*, 362
House of Commons, *i*, 66, 70,
84, 85, 86, 87, 423, 424, 430,
431
House of Representatives, U. S.,
i, 21, 27, 32, 95-103, 121, 124,
206, 296, 297, 299, 300, 302,
303, 325, 330, 332, 333, 334,
341, 346, 349, 350, 355, 370,
379, 380; *ii*, 16, 121, 126, 130,
342.—*See also* Congress,
United States
Houston, Professor, *i*, 265
Howe, Sir William, *i*, 417
Hungary, *i*, 76
Huntington, Dr., *i*, 361
- I
- "Ideal University, The," *ii*, 147-
159
Ignorance, New, *i*, 225
"Illustrations and Reflections,"
i, 168
- Immigration, *i*, 354
Inaugural address, Mr. Wil-
son's, as governor of New
Jersey, *ii*, 270-282
Independence, Declaration of, *i*,
264, 418
Independent, The, *i*, 487
India, *i*, 14
"Individual, The Ministry and
the," *ii*, 178-187
Industries, infant, *ii*, 130, 133,
463-464
Industry, captains of, 340, 418
"Infant industries," *ii*, 130,
133
Initiative, referendum, and re-
call, *ii*, 189, 287-289, 323-324
"Initiative, Referendum, and
Recall, On the," *ii*, 323-324
"Institutions, Social," *i*, 169
"Insurgents," *ii*, 394, 395
Interests, the, *ii*, 285, 376
International Congress of Edu-
cation, *i*, 223
International Review, *i*, 19
Ireland, famine in, *ii*, 16
Irish Church, *i*, 71, 73
Iroquois Club (Chicago), *ii*,
389
"Issues of Freedom," *ii*, 283-290
Italy, *i*, 8
- J
- Jackson, Andrew, *i*, 160, 199,
212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 286,
330, 342, 343, 374; *ii*, 15, 34,
344-353
Jackson Day dinner, Mr. Wil-
son's address at, *ii*, 344-353
Jefferson Day banquet, Mr.
Wilson's address at, *ii*, 424-
429
Jefferson, Joseph, *i*, 366
Jefferson Society, *i*, 43
Jefferson, Thomas, *i*, 323, 330,
342, 405, 424, 427; *ii*, 30, 424-
429
Jesuits, *i*, 60, 61
Jesus, Society of, *i*, 61
Jews, *i*, 71; *ii* 318-322

Jobbery, legislative, *i*, 28
 John, King, *i*, 140; *ii*, 295
 Johnson, Andrew, *i*, 218, 373-395
 Joline, Mr., *ii*, 227
 Journal of the Senate of New Jersey, *ii*, 270
 Judges, superiority of appointed to elected, *ii*, 222
 Justice for tariff and trusts, rule of, *ii*, 455-456

K

Kansas, civil war in, *ii*, 12
 Kansas, Nebraska bill, *ii*, 10, 16
 "Kearneyism in California," *i*, 168
 Kings, Angevin, *i*, 139
 Knife and Fork Club, *ii*, 283
 Know-Nothing party, *ii*, 16, 17
 Knox, John, *i*, 274

L

Labor, capital and, *i*, 232, 398; *ii*, 55.—*See also* Employee and employer; Wages; Workmen's compensation
 Labor, Federal regulation of, *ii*, 37
 LaFollette, Robert, *ii*, 407
 Lamar, L. Q. C., *i*, 207, 210, 299
 Lamont, Daniel, *i*, 200, 209, 217
 Law, constitutional, *i*, 188, 196
 Law, government by, *ii*, 25, 28
 Law, judge-made, *i*, 174
 "Law or Personal Power," *ii*, 24-31
 Law schools, *ii*, 157
 Law, the, *i*, 232-245; *ii*, 22, 27, 181, 245-268
 "Lawyer and the Community, The," *ii*, 245-268
 "Lawyer in Politics, The," *ii*, 310-317
 Lawvers, *ii*, 247-268, 310-317

"Leaderless Government," *i*, 336-359
 Learning, *ii*, 102-119, 162
 Learning, New, *i*, 225
 "Learning, The Spirit of," *ii*, 102-119
 Lee, Harry, *i*, 267, 429; *ii*, 66
 Lee, Robert E., *ii*, 64-82
 Legislation, dishonest, *i*, 28
 Liability, employers', *ii*, 273
 Liberal party, *i*, 56, 73
 Liberalism, English, *i*, 44-46, 73
 Liberals, Prussian, *i*, 3
 "Liberty party," *ii*, 15
 Liberty, political, *ii*, 246
 Life, *ii*, 437
 Life of Macaulay, Trevelyan's, *i*, 64
 "Lighthorse Harry."—*See* Lee, Harry
 Lincoln, Abraham, *i*, 217, 286, 309, 331, 371, 372, 374, 375, 382, 389; *ii*, 34, 83-101, 202, 389-404.—*See also* "Honest Abe"
 "Lincoln's Birthday," *ii*, 389-404
 "Little Giant," *ii*, 5.—*See also* Douglas, Stephen A.
 "Living Principles of Democracy," *ii*, 193-201
 Livingston, Robert R. *i*, 405, 422
 Lobby, *ii*, 137, 415
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, *i*, 19, 346
 "Log-rolling," *ii*, 134
 Lords, House of, *i*, 190.—*See also* Parliament
 Lorraine, *i*, 7.—*See also* Alsace
 Louisiana Purchase, *i*, 323, 326; *ii*, 3
 Lowe, Robert, *i*, 51, 80
 Lowell, James Russell, *i*, 180
 Lytton, Lord, *i*, 49

M

Macaulay, Lord, *i*, 79
 Machine, bipartisan political, *ii*, 287

- Machine indispensable to politics, *ii*, 207, 209
 Machinery, nominating, *ii*, 210, 211
 Madison, James, *i*, 194, 267, 268, 271, 274, 330, 335, 337, 342, 343, 460
 Magna Charta, *i*, 273, 274, 430; *ii*, 295
 Maine, Sir H., *i*, 165, 167
 "Make Haste Slowly," *i*, 179-186
 Man, Rights of, *i*, 437
 "Manchester School," *i*, 46
 Manitoba, wheat from, *i*, 92
 Manning, Daniel, *i*, 205, 206, 293
 Markets, foreign, need of, *ii*, 472
 Marlborough, Duke of, *i*, 79, 109
 Marriage, laws of, *i*, 398
 Marshall, Chief-Justice, *ii*, 435
 Martin, Luther, *i*, 266
 Mason, George, *i*, 337; *ii*, 386
 Maynooth College *i*, 71
 McCormick Theological Seminary, *ii*, 178
 McCosh, James, *i*, 361
 McKinley tariff bill, *ii*, 120
 McKinley, William, *i*, 298, 308, 332, 333, 345, 346; *ii*, 407
 Meat Trust, *ii*, 199
 Medical schools, *ii*, 157
 Meeker, Professor, *ii*, 229
 Men, big business, seeing the light, *ii*, 467-468
 Mendelssohn, *ii*, 84, 85
 Merchant marine, *ii*, 374-375, 471-472
 Metternich, *i*, 11
 Mexican cession, *ii*, 15
 Mexico, *i*, 405
 Mill, John Stuart, *i*, 93, 165
 Millennium, political, *ii*, 232
 Mills, Roger Q., *i*, 205, 297
 Minister, duties of, *ii*, 180, 185, 186
 "Ministry and the Individual, The," *ii*, 178-187
 Missouri Compromise, *ii*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 35
 Money question, *i*, 406
 Money trust, *ii*, 411, 417
 Monod, M., *i*, 184
 Monopoly, *ii*, 228, 400-407
 Monroe Doctrine, *i*, 306
 Monroe, James, *i*, 330, 343
 Montesquieu, *i*, 25, 149, 401, 431
 Moody, Dwight L., *ii*, 182-183
 Morality, *ii*, 227-228
 Morals, commercial, *ii*, 136; paternal, *ii*, 51
 Morley, John, *i*, 64, 109n.
 Morris, Gouverneur, *i*, 181, 422
 Morrison, Senator, *i*, 205, 296
 Morton, J. Sterling, *i*, 200, 208, 217
 "My Ideal of the True University," *ii*, 147n.
- N
- Napoleon, first, *i*, 1, 4, 7, 8, 139
 Napoleon, third, *i*, 1
Nassau Literary Magazine, *i*, 1, 11
 Nation, an awakened, *ii*, 453
 National Assembly, French, *i*, 95, 98, 191
 National banks, *ii*, 408
 National Democratic Club, *ii*, 24, 325
 National government, extension of, *ii*, 306
 "National Government, The," *i*, 161
 Nation at war within itself, *ii*, 457
 "Nation, The Banker and the," *ii*, 54-63
 "Nation, The Making of the," *i*, 310-335
 Nast, Thomas, *ii*, 191
 New England Society, *i*, 360
 New Jersey Bankers' Association, *ii*, 225
 New Jersey, judges in, *ii*, 222
 Newton, Isaac, *ii*, 85, 434
 New York, charter of, *ii*, 223

Niebuhr, Barthold G., *i*, 146
 Nihilism, *i*, 76
 Nominating conventions, *i*, 331, 332, 344
 Nomination, elections must be managed by the alchemy of, *ii*, 216
North American Review, *ii*, 32, 120, 204
 "Northwest," Old, *i*, 327
 Northwest Territory, *i*, 326; *ii*, 3, 35
 Nullification, *ii*, 33, 34

O

Office, good men in, *ii*, 208
 Old North, *i*, 265, 466
 Old "Northwest," *i*, 327
 Oliver, Commissioner, *i*, 92
 Olmutz, *i*, 3
 Olney, Richard, *i*, 200, 208, 217, 306; *ii*, 354
Omaha Bee, *ii*, 74
 Opinion, public, *i*, 141, 142-143, 149-150, 168, 227; *ii*, 207, 209, 265, 272
 "Opportunity, Democracy's" *ii*, 303-309
 Ordinance of 1787, *i*, 320, 326; *ii*, 3
 Organization, efficiency dependent upon, *ii*, 205
 Orient, *ii*, 17
 Otis, James, *i*, 273
 Over-capitalization, *ii*, 30
Overland Monthly, *i*, 95
 Ownership, government, *ii*, 21

P

Page, Walter H., *i*, 246, 286
 Palmerston, Lord, *i*, 73, 84
 Panama Canal, *ii*, 375, 409, 472
 Papal See, *i*, 62
 Parliament, British, *i*, 17, 48, 65, 72, 73, 78, 84, 140, 167, 274, 422, 423, 424
 Parties, American, *i*, 109, 129; *ii*, 24, 210, 224

Party organization, officials controlled by, *ii*, 209-217
 "Party, right or wrong," *i*, 55
 "Party System, The," *i*, 165
 Paterson, William, *i*, 266, 269
 Patriotism, American, *i*, 19
 Patronage, *ii*, 198, 232, 341
 Paul, St., *ii*, 239-241
 Payne-Aldrich Tariff bill, *ii*, 120, 348, 440, 459
 Peel, Sir Robert, *i*, 70, 71, 73
 Penn, William, *i*, 47
 Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association, *i*, 474
 Pension bills, private, *i*, 292
 People, American, *ii*, 283-284, 308, 410
 People, responsibility of officials to, *ii*, 206, 207
 People, the, and government, *ii*, 218
 "Personal Power, Law or," *ii*, 24-31
 Pettigrew, Louis, *ii*, 421
 Philadelphia convention, *ii*, 407
 Philippines, *i*, 402, 410, 412, 434, 436, 438, 440; *ii*, 373, 469-470
 Phips, Governor, *i*, 167
 Pierce, Franklin, *ii*, 2
 Pinckney, Charles, *i*, 422
 Pilgrim Fathers, *i*, 362
 Pitt, William, *i*, 133n, 430.—
See also Chatham
 Pittsburgh Alumni of Princeton University, address to, *ii*, 202-203
Pittsburgh Dispatch, 203
 Plantagenets, the, *i*, 430
 Poe, Edgar Allan, *ii*, 84, 85
 Political methods, reform of, *ii*, 188-192, 204
 "Political Reform," *ii*, 188-192
Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law, *i*, 187n
Political Science Quarterly, *i*, 130, 159
 Politicians, "Manchester School" of, *i*, 46

- Politics*, *i*, 170
 "Politics," *ii*, 1-23
 "Politics, Hide and Seek," *ii*, 204-224
 "Politics, The Lawyer in," *ii*, 310-317
Politik, *i*, 145n.
 Polk, James K., *ii*, 2
Popular Government, *i*, 165, 177
 Populism, *i*, 310
 Porto Rico, *i*, 410, 439, 440
 "Preceptorial System, Princeton," *i*, 487-498
 Presidency, Mr. Wilson's speech accepting Democratic nomination for, *ii*, 452-474
 President's Great Council, *i*, 201
 Press, *i*, 117, 121
Press, Philadelphia, *i*, 83
 Prices and wages, *ii*, 461-462
 Prices, cause of high, *ii*, 199
 Primaries, *i*, 110, 440
Princeton Alumni Weekly, *i*, 443, 462, 491, 499
 Princeton College, *i*, 259-285
 "Princeton for the Nation's Service," *i*, 443-461
 "Princeton's Ideals," *i*, 462-473
 Princeton University, *i*, 443-461, 462-473, 474-521; *ii*, 24, 147, 202-203, 244, 269
 Privilege, special, *ii*, 128
 Problem, race, *i*, 328
Proceedings of the International Congress of Education of the World's Columbian Exposition, *i*, 223
 Production, profits of, *ii*, 334; cost of, *ii*, 335-336, 339
 Professional schools, *i*, 444-445; *ii*, 103-104, 150, 156-158
 "Progress, The Bible and," *ii*, 291-302
 Progressive Republicans, *ii*, 419, 420
 Promotion of Engineering Education, Society of, *i*, 445
 Property, laws of, *i*, 398
 Prosperity, what it is, *ii*, 334
 Protection, *i*, 89-94; *ii*, 132-133, 137, 140, 144, 198, 329, 341, 396
 Prussia, *i*, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 138, 141, 237
 Prussian Assembly, *i*, 3
 Prussian Liberals, *i*, 3
 Public opinion, *i*, 141, 142-143, 149-150, 168, 227; *ii*, 207, 209, 265, 272
 Public-school system, American, *i*, 62
 Public Utilities Commission (New Jersey), *ii*, 275, 276
 Puritans, *i*, 360-367
 Pym, John, *i*, 181
- ## Q
- Quads, residential, *i*, 518-521
 Quakers, *i*, 47
 Queen's University bill, *i*, 71
 "Queen's University in Ireland," *i*, 71
 Quincy, Josiah, *i*, 216
- ## R
- Race problem, *i*, 328
 Radicalism, *ii*, 350-351, 422
 Railways, confederacies of railways and, *ii*, 465-467
 Railway traffic, regulation of, *i*, 354
 Randall, Samuel, *i*, 296
 Randolph, John, *i*, 324, 325
 Recall, initiative, referendum, and, *ii*, 189, 287-289, 323-324
 Reckoning, day of, *ii*, 234
 Reconstruction, *i*, 57, 331, 354, 368-395; *ii*, 17, 18
 "Reconstruction in the Southern States," *i*, 368-395
 Redfield, Secretary, *ii*, 330, 335, 339
 Reed, Thomas B., *i*, 332, 346; *ii*, 225-226

- Referendum, and recall, initiative, *ii*, 189, 287-289, 323-324
 Reform Act of 1832, *i*, 46
 Reform, civil service, *i*, 130, 141, 144-145
 "Reform, political," *ii*, 188-192
 Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Bureau of, *i*, 379, 384, 385
 Regulation, executive, *ii*, 25
 Reichstag, *i*, 95, 191
 Religion, *i*, 480
 "Report" of the seventeenth annual meeting of the American Bar Association, *i*, 223-245
Representative Government, *i*, 165
 Representative methods, universal distrust of, *ii*, 218
 Republican party, *ii*, 16, 17, 25, 123, 126, 127, 193, 194, 195, 284, 285, 327, 339, 340, 389, 394, 395, 418, 419, 440, 458, 473
 Resignation from Princeton University, Mr. Wilson's, *ii*, 269
 Resources, natural, *ii*, 470-471
 Resumption Act of 1875, *i*, 29
 Retro-reformers, *i*, 365
 Re-United States, *i*, 169
Review of Reviews (American), *i*, 198
 Revolution, American, *i*, 56, 264, 268, 269, 273, 286, 337, 417, 418, 421
 Revolution, French, *i*, 3, 138, 139, 185, 423
 Revolutions, *i*, 1, 2, 3
 Richard, King, *i*, 140
 Richelieu, *i*, 6, 11
 Richmond, Mr. Wilson's address at, *ii*, 367-388; Council of the City of, *ii*, 367
 Right and justice, great questions of, *ii*, 454-455
 Rights, Bills of, *i*, 430; *ii*, 341, 385-386
 "Rights of the Jews, The," *ii*, 318-322
 Rights, state and Federal, *ii*, 33-53
Rise and Growth of American Politics, *ii*, 212
 Robert E. Lee, *ii*, 64
 "Robert E. Lee: An interpretation," *ii*, 64-82
 Rodin, *ii*, 86
 Roman Catholic Church, German, *i*, 10
 "Roman Catholic Church in America," *i*, 60-62; *ii*, 72
 Rome, *i*, 180, 237
 Roosevelt, Theodore, *ii*, 217, 384
 Rosewater, Victor, *ii*, 74
 Rusk, J. M., *i*, 208
 Ruskin, John, *i*, 81
 Russell, Lord John, *i*, 61, 73, 84, 85
 Russia, *i*, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 76, 77, 143; *ii*, 318-322
 Rutledge, John, *i*, 422
- S
- Sabbath School Association, Pennsylvania State, *i*, 474
 Salisbury, Lord, *i*, 306
 San Juan Hill, battle of, *i*, 416
 Schleswig-Holstein, *i*, 3
 Science, political, *i*, 188, 189, 195, 196
 Scott, Dred, *ii*, 10, 13
Scribner's Magazine, *ii*, 160-177
 Sedan, *i*, 7
 Seigniorage bill, *i*, 302
 Senate, French, *i*, 191
 Senate, Roman, *i*, 350, 356
 Senate, U. S., *i*, 32, 38, 39, 41, 97, 99, 161, 201, 202, 206, 293, 294, 297, 302, 303, 305, 331, 334, 341, 346, 349, 350, 355, 359, 370, 380; *ii*, 122, 123, 124, 130, 335, 439.
 —See also Congress, United States

- Senators, choice of United States, *i*, 41
 "Service, Princeton for the Nation's," *i*, 443-461
 Sesqui-centennial celebration, Princeton, *i*, 259-285
 Seward, William H., *i*, 331; *ii*, 7, 15
 Sherman Act, *ii*, 26, 411, 462
 Sherman, General, *i*, 370; *ii*, 84
 Sherman, Roger, *i*, 335, 344, 350
 Ships, American, must carry American goods, *ii*, 471-472.
 —See also Merchant marine
 Silver bill, Bland, *i*, 29
 Silver, free coinage of, *ii*, 60
 Silver question, *i*, 293, 298, 301-303, 308, 328.—See also Currency
 Slavery, *i*, 57, 141, 310, 315, 326, 330, 373, 375; *ii*, 3, 4, 6, 11, 15, 18, 33, 34, 35
 Smith, Barnet, *i*, 63
 Smith, Professor, *i*, 266
 Smith, Goldwin, *i*, 95
 Smith, Hoke, *i*, 200, 201, 210-211, 212, 214, 217
 "Social Institutions," *i*, 169
 Socialism, *ii*, 56, 449
 Society, *i*, 232-233
 Society of Jesus, *i*, 61
 Somers, *i*, 109
 South, the, *i*, 56-58, 89, 310, 315, 326, 327, 328, 368-395; *ii*, 4, 17, 18, 71, 76, 125, 408.
 —See also Confederacy; Slavery
 "Southern States, Reconstruction in," *i*, 368-395
 Sovereignty, state, *ii*, 36
 Spain, *i*, 320, 398, 405.—See also Cuba
 Spanish American War, *ii*, 330-331, 435, 360
 Speaker of House of Representatives, powers of, *i*, 333, 347-349; *ii*, 47
 Special privilege, *ii*, 128
 "Spirit of Learning, The," *ii*, 102-119
 "Spirit, Princeton," *i*, 505
 Spoils system, *i*, 110
 "Squatter sovereignty," *ii*, 7, 9, 20
 Stamp Act, *i*, 262
 Standards, Democracy's, *ii*, 195
 Standpatters, *ii*, 394
 Stanley Committee, *ii*, 361, 400, 410
 Stars and Stripes, *ii*, 332, 366
 "State Governments, The," *i*, 164
 State Rights, *i*, 57
 "States and the Federal Government, The," *ii*, 32-53
 Statesman, Prussian, necessities of compared with English and American, *i*, 5-6
 "Statesmanship, Bankers and," *ii*, 225-233
 States, relation of to the Federal government, *ii*, 24-53
 Statute of Laborers, *i*, 133
 Stein, Heinrich F. K., *i*, 138, 152
 Stevens, Thaddeus, *i*, 381, 383
 Stewart, A. T., *i*, 205
 Stock, watered, *ii*, 30
 Story, Chief-Justice, *i*, 25
 Strikes, *ii*, 334
 Stuarts, The, *i*, 393
 "Study of Administration, The," *i*, 130-158
 Sugar Trust, *ii*, 125
 Sullivan, General, *i*, 417
 Sumner, Charles, *i*, 382, 383, *ii*, 7
 Sunday School Times Company, *i*, 474
 Sunderland, *i*, 109
 Supreme Court of the United States, *i*, 371, 376, 381; *ii*, 10, 13, 37, 52, 251
 Sweden-Norway, *i*, 191
 Swift, Dean, *i*, 475; *ii*, 187, 330
 Switzerland, *i*, 167, 176, 396, 398
 Syllabus, the, *i*, 61

- "System, The Party," *i*, 165
 "Systems, Comparison of the American and European," *i*, 163n.

T

- Talleyrand, *i*, 6
 Tariff, the, *i*, 89-94, 204, 288, 323, 324, 325, 345, 354; *ii*, 12, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 120-146, 198, 232, 306, 325-343, 348, 356, 359, 380, 405-423, 455-456, 458-460
 Tariff Commission of 1882, Report of, *i*, 89-94
 "Tariff Question, First Statement, on the," *i*, 89-94
 Taussig, Professor F. W., *ii*, 333
 Taxation, *i*, 31, 90, 147, 233, 303-304, 320, 323; *ii*, 28, 143, 144, 145-146, 276, 341
 Taylor, Zackary, *ii*, 14
 Technical schools, *i*, 445; *ii*, 157, 158, 166
 Tennyson, Alfred, *ii*, 84
 Tenure, law of, *i*, 233
 Texas, annexation of, *ii*, 14
 Texas *vs.* White, *i*, 371
 Theological schools, *ii*, 157
 Thiers, Louis Adolphe, *i*, 1
 Tilden, Samuel J., *i*, 209
Times, London, *i*, 54
 Tocqueville, de, *i*, 159, 160, 172, 173, 396
 Town meeting, New England, *ii*, 206
 Trenton, anniversary of battle of, *i*, 416
 Trickery, party, *i*, 28
 Trusts, *ii*, 137, 405-423, 455-456.—*See also* Combinations, great; Corporations; Meat Trust; Sugar Trust
 "Trusts, The Tariff and the," *ii*, 405-423
 Tudors, the, *i*, 430
 Turkish Empire, *i*, 398
 Turner, Professor, *i*, 313
 Tweed ring, *i*, 168; *ii*, 191
 Tyler, John, *ii*, 14

U

- "Undergraduates, Legal Education of," *i*, 232-245
 Union, formation of the, *i*, 322-323
 United States: Cabinet government in, *i*, 19-42; defects in mode of government, 19; liberty and prosperity in, 19; decline in statesmanship, 19; influence of universal suffrage on political life in, 19-20; representative government in, 20; congressional committees, 21-23; power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 21; duties and privileges of legislative, judicial, and executive departments, and relations toward each other, 24-26, 28, 31, 40; selection of Cabinet officers, 26-27; corporations, 28; Bland silver bill, 29; Resumption Act of 1875, 29; committee government, 30, 35, 95-129; Cabinet government, 30, 36, 38, 39, 95-129; Congress, constitution of, 30; statesmanship dying out in, 35; Cabinet officers, 36; President's power, 38; choice of Senators, 41; despotism of Congress, 41; John Bright and the Southern Confederacy, 56-58; slavery, 57; Reconstruction, 57; Roman Catholic Church in, 60-62; public-school system, 62; mining, 92; wages in, 92; fertility of land, 92; cotton productions in, 92; Reconstruction, 368-395.—*See also* Congress; Constitution, Civil War; Declaration of Independence; House of Representatives; Monroe Doctrine; Revolution, American; Senate; Slavery; South;

- Supreme Court; War of 1812
Universities, *i*, 443-461; *ii*, 102, 106, 116, 147-159, 202, 243-244
University of North Carolina, *ii*, 64
University of Virginia, *i*, 43
University of Virginia Magazine, *i*, 43, 60, 63
University, state, *ii*, 202
"University, The Ideal," *ii*, 147-159
"Usage, Development of the Constitution by," *i*, 175
- V
- Van Buren, Martin, *ii*, 15
Venezuelan dispute, *i*, 306
Vilas, William F., *i*, 299
Virginia bill of rights, *ii*, 341, 385-386
Virginia, General Assembly of, *ii*, 367
Voting, Australian method of, *ii*, 213
- W
- Wade, Senator, *i*, 375; *ii*, 7
Wages, *i*, 92; *ii*, 335, 364, 461-462
Wall Street, *ii*, 59
Walpole, Robert, *i*, 17
War, French and Indian, *i*, 259, 262, 318, 321, 322
War of Independence, *i*, 416.—
 See also Revolution, American
War of 1812, *i*, 315, 424; *ii*, 13
Warner, A. J., *i*, 293
Washburne, Elihu, *i*, 202
Washington, George, *i*, 179-186, 265, 266, 267, 273, 286, 317, 321, 322, 330, 335, 337, 342, 345, 359, 417, 420, 422, 428, 429; *ii*, 69, 341
Waterloo, *i*, 79
"Wealth, predatory," *ii*, 30
Webster, Daniel, *i*, 33, 80, 331; *ii*, 5, 14, 65, 71, 435
Wellington, Duke of, *i*, 79
"West," *i*, 313, 315, 316, 322, 324, 325, 327, 328, 329
West, Professor, *i*, 491
Western Association of Princeton Clubs, *i*, 491
Westminster Abbey, *i*, 11
Westminster Scrutiny, *i*, 66
"What Is College For?" *ii*, 160-177
"What Jefferson Would Do," *ii*, 424-429
Whig party, *ii*, 14, 15, 16
White, Horace, *ii*, 391
Whitney, William C., *i*, 209, 213, 299
William and Mary, College of, *i*, 271
William, King, *i*, 5, 7; Emperor, *i*, 7, 9
William of Germany, *i*, 306
Wilmot, David, *ii*, 15
Wilson, James, *i*, 335
Wilson, Woodrow: first article, on "Prince Bismark," *i*, 1-10; sophomore at Princeton, *i*, 1; prize essay on "William, Earl Chatham," signed "Thomas W. Wilson, '79, of N. C.," *i*, 11-18; article on "Cabinet Government in the United States," *i*, 19-42; Henry Cabot Lodge his first publisher, *i*, 19; oration on John Bright, *i*, 43-59; post-graduate student, *i*, 43; debate, "Is the Roman Catholic Element in the United States a menace to American Institutions?" *i*, 60-62; article, "Mr. Gladstone: a character sketch," *i*, 63-88; testimony before tariff commission, 89; practicing law in Atlanta, *i*, 89; "Committee or Cabinet Government?" *i*, 95-129; student at Johns Hopkins, *i*, 95; parties, *i*, 109-129; press, *i*, 117, 121;

"The Study of Administration," *i*, 130-158; teacher at Bryn Mawr, *i*, 130; civil service reform, *i*, 130, 141, 144-145; Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, *i*, 159-178; teacher at Wesleyan, *i*, 159; judge-made law, *i*, 174; address on "The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington," *i*, 179-186; the Re-United States, *i*, 179; "A System of Political Science and Constitutional Law," *i*, 187-197; professor at Princeton, *i*, 187; "Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet," *i*, 198-222; answer to the query, "Should an Antecedent Liberal Education Be Required of Students in Law, Medicine, and Theology?" *i*, 223-231; address on "Legal Education of Undergraduates," *i*, 232-245; society, *i*, 232-233; capital and labor, *i*, 232; law, the, *i*, 232-245; "University Training and Citizenship," *i*, 246-258; oration on "Princeton in the Nation's Service," *i*, 259-285; "Mr. Cleveland as President," *i*, 286-309; "Making of the Nation," *i*, 310-335; address, "Leaderless Government," *i*, 336-359; address, "The Puritan," *i*, 360-367; "The Reconstruction of the Southern States," *i*, 368-395; "Democracy and Efficiency," *i*, 396-415; "The Ideals of America," *i*, 416-442; president of Princeton University, *i*, 416; inaugural address as president of Princeton University, *i*, 443-461; service of universities, *i*, 443-461; "Princeton's Service for the Nation," *i*, 443-461; "Princeton's Ideals,"

i, 462-473; "Young People and the Church," *i*, 474-486; "Princeton Preceptorial System," *i*, 487-498; "Report on the Social Coördination of the University," *i*, 499-521; address to Board of Trustees, Princeton University, *i*, 511-521; "Politics," *ii*, 1-23; "Law or Personal Power," *ii*, 24-31; "The States and the Federal Government," *ii*, 32-53; "Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation," *ii*, 64-82; "Abraham Lincoln: A Man of the People," *ii*, 83-101; "The Spirit of Learning," *ii*, 102-119; "The Tariff Make-Believe," *ii*, 120-146; "The Ideal University," *ii*, 147-159; "What Is College For?" *ii*, 160-177; "The Ministry and the Individual," *ii*, 178-187; "Political Reform," *ii*, 188-192; "Living Principles of Democracy," *ii*, 193-201; address to Pittsburgh Alumni of Princeton, *ii*, 202-203; "Hide and Seek Politics," *ii*, 204-224; "Bankers and Statesmanship," *ii*, 225-233; baccalaureate address, 234-244; "The Lawyer and the Community," *ii*, 245-268; Letter of resignation from Princeton University, *ii*, 269; nomination for Governor of New Jersey, *ii*, 269; inaugural address as Governor of New Jersey, *ii*, 270-282; "Issues of Freedom," *ii*, 283-290; "The Bible and Progress," *ii*, 291-302; "Democracy's Opportunity," *ii*, 303-309; "The Lawyer in Politics," *ii*, 310-317; "The Rights of the Jews," *ii*, 318-322; "On the Initiative, Referendum and Recall," *ii*, 323-324; "The Tariff," *ii*, 325-343; Jackson Day din-

- ner address, *ii*, 344-353;
 "Efficiency," *ii*, 354-366; address at Richmond, Va., *ii*, 367-388; Lincoln's birthday address, *ii*, 389-404; "The Tariff and the Trusts," *ii*, 405-423; "What Jefferson Would Do," *ii*, 424-429; "Government in Relation to Business," *ii*, 430-451; speech accepting presidential nomination, *ii*, 452-474.—*See also* "Atticus"
- Wilson, Mrs. Woodrow, *i*, 179
 Wilson, W. L., *i*, 303
 Witherspoon, John, *i*, 262-274, 460; *ii*, 61
 Woolsey, Theodore Dwight, *i*, 19
- Workingmen, American, *versus* foreign, *ii*, 335
 Working people, care of, *ii*, 468.
 —*See also* Compensation, Workmen's; Wages
 Workmen's compensation, *ii*, 273
- Y
- Yeardly, Sir George, *i*, 336
 Yorktown, *i*, 420
 "Young People and the Church," *i*, 474-486
- Z
- Zeus, *i*, 154

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